Post-Industrial Society *Joseph Featherstone*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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John Osborne

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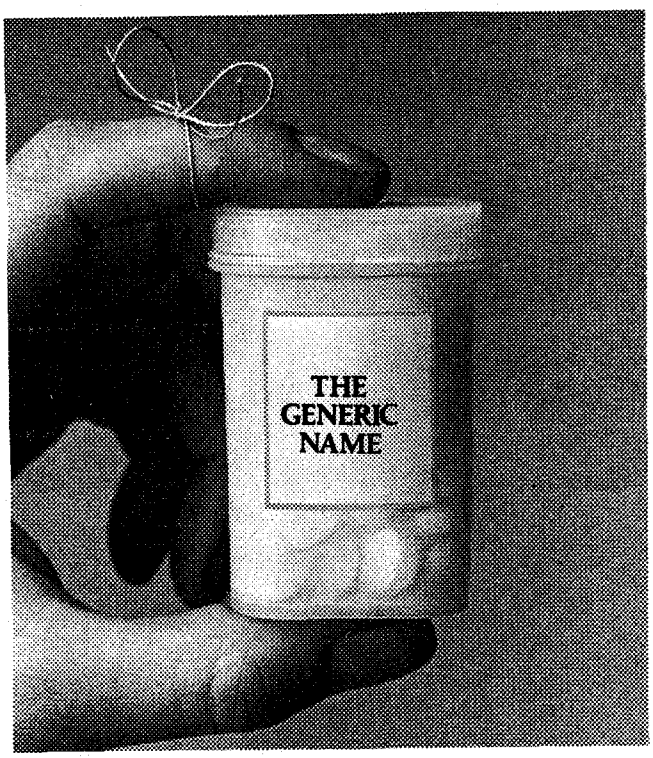

Three little words can save you medicine money.

Frequently when you're sick, nothing hurts as much as the cost of the medicine to help you get better. But there is a way you can save money on prescription drugs and medicine. By remembering three little words . . . *"the generic name."*

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You could tear out this message and wrap it around your finger to help you remember. Or you could keep thinking of the dollars you want to save. Either way, remembering three little words can save you lots of medicine money. Please remember *the generic name.*

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TRB

from Washington
September 15, 1973

Distractions

It changes your perspective on a presidential trip, I find, if you are preparing for a burglary job when you get home. I was on the San Clemente trip last month and about the time Mr. Nixon was shoving Ron Ziegler in New Orleans I began hunting for my missing car keys. I would slap my pockets at critical moments; for example, when rival demonstrators threatened to collide outside the convention hall of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. One sign said, "God Bless our President." Another, "Liberate Martha." I said, "Where are those keys?"

They seemed as lost as the President's mandate, and it made me rather sympathize with him. He badly needed the crowd enthusiasm of a motorcade ride, but instead the New Orleans authorities discovered a "plot" and smuggled him in by back streets. That was like depriving a coffee drinker of his morning cup. All during the rest of the trip they were pursuing the unfortunate ex-New Orleans cop, Edwin Gaudet, into the New Mexico mountains, before deciding that it was a case of mistaken identity. Poor guy, he thought the entire army was after him. As for Mr. Nixon, the tormenting press corps was after him as he entered the back door of the convention hall and quite naturally he blew his stack. That, of course, made a bigger headline than the speech.

The speech was interesting too, I thought. The President was out to register buoyancy, and he practically pranced onto the stage. Politically he was trying to rebuild his old coalition by assailing dissenters—his "usual critics," he called them—who wanted us to "bug out" in Asia; they were misinformed—or worse. In spite of them he had won peace with honor. He then outlined a rather scary part for America: the US, he said, must play "the major role" in the world "because there is no one else to play it." He said "the hope of the world for peace . . . rests in America." This is our destiny, he said, and "I hope and I pray that America can be worthy of it." Of course we shall need armament second to none.

The veterans cheered, and I slapped my key pocket.

My car, a 1967 Ford Falcon (brown), was parked somewhere at the Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington—not at the regular visitors' car lot (which was filled because of the President's departure), but over somewhere at a second lot which I found at the last minute.

I got my mind off my keys at the President's outdoor press conference August 22 at San Clemente. People don't realize that when the press datelines a story "San Clemente" they are really writing from where they live, 15 miles away, and this is true also at the "Florida White House" and "the Camp David White House." (There is also another White House somewhere; yes, on Pennsylvania Avenue.) But the bombinating President likes to visit the places which he has personally purchased (with generous loans from Rebozo and Abplanalp). The government has spent $10 million making these hideaways snug and secure, with landscaping, and electronic sensors in the shrubbery, and an ice-making machine for the Secret Service men. After all, the presidential life-style has to be supported for a leader who rejects Senate subpoenas and court orders.

Well, to get back to San Clemente, it really is spectacular. Colorful exotic trees and flowers abound, not plastic, you remember, but real. From below comes the gentle suck and surge of the Pacific. If you look inland there is the arid coastal range, like crumpled brown paper. You can't see them from here, but you know that every canyon is filling up with pastel-colored toy houses, perched on impossible footholds, whose prices double every third year.

I thought the President did all right at his famous outdoor press conference. It was unfair to him that they had planted him out in the burning sun which emphasized every wan line of his face. Also he didn't really answer substantively most of the questions. They were as tough as I have ever heard put to an American President.

But where Mr. Nixon scored, I thought, was that he kept hold of himself, and did a little more polarizing against critics (the people who are "exploiting" Watergate, he said). The pattern is apt to be repeated. He registered eagerness to reply to questions and emphasized his new role as underdog. (You could feel right-thinking listeners asking who the hell the press thinks it is, hounding the President like that!)

So Mr. Nixon identified opponents, as he did in 1972 and will do again: people who oppose "peace with honor"; "people who did not accept the mandate of '72, who do not want the strong America I want to build . . . who do not want to cut down the size of this government bureaucracy . . . [and give] more of our government back to the people . . ." are exploiting Watergate, he says, "to keep the President from doing his job."

Bob Mazy runs the Texaco station at 1800 South Coast Highway, and when I asked him he demonstrated how easy it is to enter a Ford Falcon (brown) without keys. Maybe I could get some FBI man to help me, he suggested. I said I thought that would be tactless.

So when the presidential planes were leaving the El Toro Marine Corps Base for Washington, and the President waved to a knot of spectators and Mrs. Nixon waved and Tricia smiled demurely, like Alice in Wonderland, I had my burglar's kit in my briefcase. A screwdriver and a metal coathanger. Others in the plane were looking down at the purple mountain majesties, but I was untwisting my coathanger and putting a hook at the end.

So now it is 2 am and I am back at Andrews. I can't find my car. "Oh," say the security police, "sorry, we had to resurface that second lot. We towed the cars away, but it is probably around somewhere, or stolen."

I felt a wave of sympathy for our harassed President. Let's face it, he has problems, too. My problem was that I had lost my car, *and* my parking lot, and if I found either, I had lost the keys. Besides that, could I break and enter? I felt as guilty as Edwin M. Gaudet.

. . . Well, folks, if you are still with me, when I found the car I attacked it with the coathanger wire, and it went through the door-window rubber like a charm, and the loop at the end lifted the thumb lock like a fishhook, and there were the spare keys in the glove compartment! I was ashamed of myself that I had worried so much. Why, it was as easy as entering the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

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Forgive and Forget?

"To most of us, Watergate has come to mean not just a burglary and bugging at [Democratic] Party headquarters," President Nixon said during his August 16 statement, "but a whole series of acts that either represent or appear to represent an abuse of trust." The President was right. For a year now the public has been awash in news stories, court depositions and testimony before the Ervin Select Senate Committee that document a vast range of questionable if not illegal activities directed by the Nixon White House. Such agencies as the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been used for political purposes. Opponents in Congress have been deliberately misled, lied to and denied legally requested information on such matters as the investigation of ITT. Former government aides and even private citizens have been wiretapped or burglarized under the pretext that the sources of "leaked" information were being sought. Major corporations have knowingly violated federal laws by contributing their funds to the President's reelection after having been solicited by Nixon campaign officials. The nation's biggest union, the Teamsters, threw its political support to the President after federal charges were dropped against the union president's son. Another federal investigation involving the union's medical fund was halted and the Teamsters' imprisoned James Hoffa was granted a presidential release. The press (and thus the public) was frequently and knowingly lied to, not only about the bugging of Democratic headquarters, but other matters such as the existence of past wiretaps on newsmen and White House aides.

The list of Nixon government malpractices could go on but as of now the only thing certain is that not everything has been uncovered.

The President is fond of pointing out precedents for the worst of his administration's activities—burglaries and wiretapping took place under past administrations. "A political campaign is always a hard, tough contest," he said last month, adding that "abuses . . . on both sides" existed and should be prevented in the future. "We must recognize," he said, "that one excess begets another and that the extremes of violence and discord in the 1960s contributed to the extremes of the Watergate." That refrain of "it all has happened before," combined with the President's other theme: "the time has come to turn Watergate over to the courts, where the questions of guilt and

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innocence belong" are beginning to have a dulling effect on those who should care the most about Watergate. Independent news media investigations into Watergate related matters have come almost to a complete halt. Politicians, Democrats as well as Republicans, have not firmly spoken out either on the facts already disclosed or the importance of cleaning up what has been exposed. Congressional committees with oversight functions have made only halting first steps to investigate matters within their jurisdictions. Even the Ervin committee seems unsure about whether it should go ahead with the hearings that have done so much to educate the public, although the fields of 1972 campaign financing and espionage-sabotage activities are still to be plumbed. As a result the public itself is beginning to wonder what the past year's disclosures were all about. No one is suggesting what can be done next—no one, that is, but the President who wants to be forgiven so he can put Watergate behind him.

Congress has much it could do. Both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees have talked about looking into the activities of the Justice Department and the FBI. The Senate committee, already awaiting a Justice Department decision on whether to prosecute alleged perjury during its March 1972 ITT hearings, now has before it a memo written by former White House aide Charles Colson, indicating not only that perjury *was* committed, but also that incriminating documents were purposely destroyed or held back during last year's inquiry. Will the committee look into that?

During the confirmation hearings of L. Patrick Gray III to be FBI director, Senator Edward Kennedy did extensive questioning about allegations that newsmen had been wiretapped. Gray denied knowledge of such wiretaps as did the White House. It has since been disclosed that taps had taken place and that recordings were stored in the White House. (Mr. Nixon, it was reported last week, once even had his own brother's phone tapped.) Senator Kennedy chairs a subcommittee that has studied wiretapping before. Does he plan a follow-up? Or does this go down as one more little Gray lie to be forgiven and forgotten?

The Senate Judiciary Committee also has before it a complex bill designed to rewrite the criminal code. Within the measure's 523 pages are sections on classified material that would make it a criminal violation to "leak" such information to the press or even to members of Congress. What action will the committee take on *this* bill and in the whole area of government over-classification of information? (Interestingly the CIA originally classified as "secret"—a national defense information category—its report to the Justice Department on the equipment supplied Watergate conspirator E. Howard Hunt and a second paper dealing with CIA's lack of interest in several of those involved in the Watergate break-in investigation.)

Both the Senate and House Armed Services Committees and a Senate Appropriations subcommittee investigated allegations concerning the use of the CIA to halt the FBI Watergate inquiry. None of these committees however has investigated the roles played by CIA and the National Security Agency—the electronic intelligence organization—in the 1970 Nixon-approved domestic intelligence gathering plan. Both NSA and CIA operate overseas, the latter barred by law from undertaking domestic operations. Nonetheless CIA participated in discussions leading to the 1970 plan, thus raising new questions about its domestic activities. The CIA participated, unwittingly or not, in the Pentagon papers affair by drafting a psychological profile of Daniel Ellsberg that raises additional questions. The disclosure of past foreign embassy burglaries by the FBI to get code books for NSA suggests that the multibillion-dollar National Security Agency, long exempt from congressional oversight, needs review.

Last year a House Civil Service Committee threatened to take a close look at the size of the White House staff. That move, which preceded the Watergate exposures, was labeled political by some Republican congressmen. In the wake of Senate testimony by former White House aides H. R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman and John Dean, there should be more interest now in setting some limits on both the size and power of the White House staff.

Many reporters who initially pursued Watergate have lately gone silent. This in part may be because the Ervin hearings have been in recess. Also the definition of "scandal" has changed. And reporters feel they must deal with the charge that they are "out to get" Nixon. One way to do that is to back off.

Despite all the things that aren't being done, some post-Watergate reforms are taking shape. A campaign financing bill has passed the Senate and is to be considered by the House. Further changes involving some form of federal financing are under discussion in the Senate. The controversial question of executive privilege may be resolved in the courts thanks to the dispute over the White House tapes. At the Justice Department Attorney General Elliot Richardson cited as his "first duty," having taken office "in the midst of the darkening cloud of suspicion and distrust engendered by Watergate," to "do what I can to eliminate the causes of distrust" within his own department. The new attorney general's biggest challenge is the Agnew case. "The suspicion that political considerations or political influence can color the administration of justice," was one of the factors Richardson cited for "diminished confidence" in his department. His eventual handling of Agnew will be judged against that statement.

Watergate has dissipated the public's trust in government. Rebuilding trust is necessary if the government is to proceed with the people's business. Watergate should be learned from, not forgotten.

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Oil Pressure

If the fuel shortage has American motorists lining up at their service stations, it is also creating complex problems for the United States in the Middle East. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, who until a year ago seemed to be keeping out of international politics, is now using his country's phenomenal oil reserves as a lever to exert pressure on the Nixon administration to curb its aid to Israel.

Faisal is plainly taking advantage of the weakness that the administration has sustained in the Watergate mess, thus illustrating the extent to which the scandal is going to erode the US position in the world. At the same time however it ought to dramatize to Americans that they cannot continue to squander oil and gasoline at home without putting themselves at the mercy of the Arab states.

The world's largest exporter of crude petroleum, Saudi Arabia currently produces nine million barrels of oil per day. The United States has been urging Faisal to increase daily production to 20 million barrels by 1980 in order to satisfy projected American needs. But the king recently promised Egyptian President Anwar Sadat that he would only raise oil output by 10 percent annually unless the United States alters its policy toward Israel. A Saudi Arabian spokesman added last week that even present production might be cut.

In part Faisal's pledge to Sadat is linked to the Saudi Arabian position among the Arab lands. Sadat had been discussing a merger of Egypt and Libya with the hawkish Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Kadafi, who favors a holy crusade against Israel. Faisal, who apparently fears that Kadafi's brand of revolutionary fervor might eventually spread to his own conservative realm, moved to block the union by convincing Sadat during a secret meeting late last month that pressure on Washington would be more effective than a conflict with Israel. The results so far have been to isolate Kadafi and to postpone the prospect of a fresh war in the Middle East.

The next development is expected to be a significant shift of alignments in the area. With the Libyan merger scrapped, Sadat is likely to resume diplomatic relations with Jordan, and this should lead to a renovation of the alliance that formerly associated Jordan, Syria, Iraq and Saudi Arabia with Egypt. That alliance, which was more political than military, broke down three years ago when Jordanian King Hussein moved against the Palestinian guerrillas in his country. A new alliance is bound to be influenced heavily by Saudi Arabia, whose power has soared as a consequence of the worldwide fuel shortage.

Balancing the alternatives, prudent King Faisal may be preferable to volatile Colonel Kadafi. The test for US diplomacy however will be to persuade the king both to raise his oil exports and to tolerate the existence of Israel. If Faisal's latest statements are a bargaining bid, he may be partly swayed by assistance in industrializing Saudi Arabia. But to reduce US support for Israel would only spur the forces within the Arab bloc that menace the king as much as they threaten the Israelis, and that option must be ruled out.

Underlying this potential crisis though is the fact

"What do you call a nasty little Libyan colonel who wants to nationalize our 2.7 million barrels a day? You call him 'Sir'!"

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that Americans are mortgaging themselves to the Arabs because they refuse to limit their oil consumption. This can be seen in the new automobiles coming out of Detroit, few of which are designed to use less gasoline. One way to deal with this problem would be to tax horsepower, as many European nations have been doing for years. Fresh sources of energy must also be found. Otherwise the day will soon be at hand when Faisal, Sadat and their colleagues are dictating US policy—as indeed they are currently trying to do.

Reagan's Tax Scheme

Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, who will be 65 in 1976, is an all but certain candidate for President. As Vice President Agnew's star descends, Reagan's rises. He has announced that he will not run for reelection in 1974 (although many GOP power brokers are urging him to reconsider), and that once liberated from Sacramento he will travel widely, spreading his gospel, his smile and mellifluous voice. Several wealthy Californians, including former Deputy Defense Secretary David Packard, are eager to fill his campaign war chest.

An integral part of the Reagan spiel will almost certainly be his plan for automatic rollback of government expenditures, at least if he can sell it to California voters this fall. Reagan's aversion to using public funds for welfare, higher education, legal services for the poor and similar programs is well known; strangely though, the state budget under Reagan has soared to unprecedented heights. The blame, we are now told, lies with self-serving bureaucrats and the solution is to adopt Reagan's tax and expenditure limitation initiative, which has been placed on the November 6 ballot. Under this scheme, devised by a group of conservative economists including Milton Friedman, state expenditures would automatically decline as a percentage of total personal income earned by Californians. The complicated and rigid formula mandating this decline would be enshrined in the state constitution. Along with the spending limit would come a 7.5 percent cut in state income taxes.

The plan has obvious appeal and if California voters approve it the governor will be clucking all the way to the Republican national convention. Unfortunately the impact on the Golden State itself will not be so salubrious. The initiative, if adopted, would severely limit the ability of the state to meet citizens' needs. According to A. Alan Post, the nonpartisan legislative analyst, cutbacks in state spending would total $1.4 billion a year by 1977 and require, among other things, drastic reductions in compensatory and early childhood education, charging tuition at community colleges and abolishing senior citizen property tax relief. Another effect would be to shift government costs from the state to local entities, and from the progressive state income tax to regressive sales and property taxes. The biggest beneficiaries would be upper-income Californians. Taxpayers in the $35,000-a-year bracket would save about $17,000 over 15 years, while families earning $8000 a year would save about $215. Those getting the short end of the income tax breaks would be the same ones bearing the brunt of the state cutbacks and the rise in sales and property taxes.

Of course Reagan is no amateur when it comes to reducing the tax burden of the rich; his own $49,000 salary as governor and his income from investments were so cleverly sheltered that he paid no state income tax in 1970. Yet wondrously, he retains his credibility as a tax reformer. Polls show his initiative is currently favored by a majority of voters and organized opposition has yet to emerge. A trusted Reagan lieutenant, Lewis Uhler, who last achieved a modicum of fame by spearheading the attack on California Rural Legal Assistance, is leading the well-financed campaign for passage of the initiative. Unless there is a change by November Reagan will have a feather in his cap and California will be stuck in a fiscal straightjacket.

Drug Crackdown

When Governor Nelson Rockefeller campaigned for tough reform of New York state drug laws early this year, he insisted that existing addict treatment and rehabilitation programs were "dismal failures." Arguing that "the real deterrent to those pushers" would come from harsh and certain punishment, he proposed mandatory life imprisonment for convicted narcotics dealers, with no chance of parole, or of suspended sentences or leniency in return for cooperation with the prosecution.

Though somewhat more moderate than the governor's request, the drug law that took effect last week contains the stiffest narcotics penalties in the nation. Most types of drug felonies carry life sentences, but parole may be granted after a specified jail term has been served. The minimum lengths of such jail terms depend upon both the type and amount of the drug and upon whether the crime involved sale or possession. Thus persons convicted of the most serious offenses—defined as sale of an ounce or more of any narcotic, or possession of at least two ounces of such drugs—must spend a minimum of 15 years in prison. Sellers and possessors of designated quantities of non-narcotic drugs (ranging from barbiturates and hallucinogens to diet pills) become eligible for parole after fewer years in jail, but, like narcotics offenders,

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they must remain in prison for life if parole is denied. Under the new law plea-bargaining (the procedure by which defendants plead guilty to lesser offenses in order to receive lighter sentences) can hasten a defendant's eligibility for parole, but cannot otherwise lighten the initial life sentence. The new law further requires that persons paroled from life sentences remain on probation for life.

The new legislation is clearly aimed at hard drugs. (Marijuana and hashish are treated considerably more leniently, with provisions for probation in the cases of first-offenders.) The idea that severe penalties can deter the use of addictive drugs has been widely disputed. That state addiction officials reported a disappointing response to a widely publicized "amnesty period" during which addicts could turn themselves in for treatment without threat of penalty, is one indication that addicts do not rationally weigh the risks of capture. Recognizing that addicts are accustomed to running enormous risks, New York City police have objected to the tough provisions, fearing they encourage narcotics suspects to commit more serious crimes (such as shooting at police) to escape arrest. In any event police do not expect the number of drug arrests to increase.

Though its value as a deterrent is questionable, the act is certain to produce more trials. New York police officials estimate that in the past 96 percent of those arrested for drug violations eventually pleaded guilty to lesser crimes. However under the new law the inevitability of a life sentence sharply reduces the incentive to plea-bargain. If as a result most drug cases go to trial, the burden on the judicial system will be substantial. Police have estimated that last year, had the new law then been on the books, nearly 9000 of the 11,431 narcotics felony cases would have reached the courts (whereas under the old system only 1000 actually went to trial). To cope with the increased volume of court proceedings, the legislation provides for the appointment of 100 new judges (of which 16 have already been nominated). But critics claim that at least 68 more judges will be needed, as well as more courtrooms and prosecutorial staff than the law's $66 million budget can afford.

Since the mandatory sentences mean that drug felons will spend longer periods of time in jail, an estimated 3000 additional prison cells will be required. Much of the available prison space is now to be found at Sing Sing state prison, an old facility in need of extensive renovation.

The tough and punitive approach adopted by New York has been tried before, with disappointing results. For nearly 15 years federal narcotics legislation imposed mandatory sentences for a variety of drug crimes, but Congress dropped such provisions in 1970 because of their lack of deterrent effect. Many states—including New York—have enacted inflexible sentencing rules for "habitual offenders," but ironically New York abandoned its practice of requiring automatic life imprisonment of fourth-time felons eight years ago. Moreover in 1968 the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice unanimously recommended the removal of mandatory prison sentences for narcotics violations. Such commission members as Justice Lewis Powell and then Secretary of State William Rogers called the mandatory measures "inhumane and unworkable."

Most discussion of the law focuses primarily on whether the rigid sentences can be considered "cruel and unusual punishment." "The housewife caught giving diet pills to a neighbor can get the same sentence as someone selling heroin to an 11-year-old," explained Ira Glasser, director of the New York ACLU. According to Glasser the ACLU is preparing to argue that the New York legislation violates an individual's rights to due process of law by eliminating judges' discretion in sentencing. "You can't do justice in individual cases," Glasser maintained; "a person can't plead that his case should be treated differently from one down the road."

Currently there are no moves in other states to similarly toughen the drug statutes and nearly a dozen states have recently relaxed criminal penalties on a number of drug violations. But as drug abuse problems persist in most cities, other states will be watching the New York experience. The danger is that the political popularity of such a hard line on drugs will be watched more closely than its results.

Song and Dance

The telethon has long been a successful money-raiser for incurable diseases. So it was not inappropriate when the Democratic Party last year turned to the telethon as a last resort. In July 1972 the party's debt from the 1968 presidential campaign stood at $9 million. The Democratic National Committee nonetheless decided to risk $1.5 million on the first nationally televised political telethon. The gamble paid off handsomely: more than 400,000 people gave a total of $4 million. Equally important, the Democrats overnight built up a list of small and medium-sized donors who could later be approached for more money. The party's debt is now a manageable $3 million.

The man behind last year's telethon was John Y. Brown, Jr., the founder of Kentucky Fried Chicken. Although the Democratic National Committee has since changed chairmen twice, Brown has remained in charge of telethons. Democratic National Telethon II, as it is officially known, will be broadcast live on Saturday, September 15 from 7 pm to 2 am (EDT) on NBC. It's billed as a "seven-hour star-filled extravaganza, complete with banners, flags, signs and music." The

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studio, located in beautiful, downtown Burbank, will be decorated like a political convention hall. There should be plenty of balloons.

As a variety show the telethon should attract a good audience. (The Democrats estimate 58 million.) Among the three dozen entertainers will be some whose appeal lies among older viewers—Steve Allen and Lorne Greene for example—along with such contemporary sex symbols as Warren Beatty and Joey Heatherton.

Those looking for a different sort of song and dance will get to see some of the Democratic Party's superstars, and the platform will be wide enough to hold both Senator McGovern and Governor Wallace. Naturally the party's 1976 presidential prospects will be there: Humphrey, Jackson, Kennedy and Muskie. Then, in what's billed as a "people-to-people press conference," citizens throughout the country will be able to interrogate senators and governors on the issues. The Democrats did this once before (to great effect) in their 1972 reply to President Nixon's state of the union message. One of the staff members who handled the screening of questioners in that effort said the phone company reported some five million calls had been initiated to the Democrats' toll-free number. Although the calls for the telethon's press conference will also be screened, the staff will be looking to eliminate only the "kooks"; indeed, they want hard questions.

Last year's telethon was truly a public effort. At Democratic headquarters in Washington, for instance, volunteers by the score simply walked in off the street to man the phones and record the pledges of $5, $10 and sometimes $20. Across town in an office building with no outside markings, the Republican National Committee was paying college students $3 to $3.50 an hour to telephone the party faithful and send out computer-typed letters to those who pledged. (See "Republicans on the Phone," *TNR*, October 21, 1972.) Although the Democratic National Committee has been able to reduce its debt, it is still in the red. On the other hand the Committee for the Re-election of the President, which is still in business, is sitting on a few million surplus dollars.

Some may think it unfortunate that the Democrats must put on a circus to get bread, but financing a political party with hundreds of thousands of people giving an average of $10 apiece is preferable to a few contributors secretly giving six- or seven-figure bundles. Last year's Democratic telethon engaged some 25,000 volunteers; this year's should draw an even larger number. Indeed, there are 50 state telethon committees and local volunteers who have been spreading the word by door-to-door leafleting, phone calls and other grass-roots methods. The Democratic National Committee puts their number at 100,000. That may be an exaggeration, but the telethon and related activities are clearly drawing people into the political process.

The Nixon Watch

Shades of Meaning

If the members and staff of the Senate Watergate committee were smarter than they have been up to now, they would be preparing to make the President sorry that, at his August 22 press conference in San Clemente, he mentioned Clark MacGregor and thereby drew attention to a deposition that MacGregor gave under oath in a civil suit last July 20. MacGregor was the second and last director of Mr. Nixon's Committee for the Re-election of the President. With notable speed and foresight he resigned from that job on November 8, the day after the 1972 election, and became the United Aircraft Corporation's chief lobbyist in Washington. Before he replaced former Attorney General John Mitchell as the reelection committee's director, 14 days after the Watergate burglar-buggers were caught at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in Washington, MacGregor was in turn a Republican congressman from Minnesota, a defeated candidate for the Senate in 1970, and a White House counsellor in charge of Mr. Nixon's congressional relations. The last thing MacGregor would want to do, one presumes, would be to embarrass Mr. Nixon or add the merest whit to the evidence that the President has been less than truthful in his pleas that he knew nothing about the campaign misdeeds now connoted by "Watergate" when they were perpetrated and, until very late in the game, nothing about the effort at the White House and the reelection committee to conceal and minimize high-level participation in and responsibility for them. But this is what MacGregor did in his deposition. His account of a conversation that he had with the President on June 30 of last year, when Mr. Nixon asked him to replace Mitchell at the reelection committee, differs to the point of contradiction with the President's statement at San Clemente that MacGregor undertook on that occasion to "conduct a thorough investigation" of "his entire committee staff" and any involvement of its members in the Watergate affair. More generally and more importantly, insofar as the viability of the President's basic claim of ignorance and consequent innocence is concerned, MacGregor's sworn account of his relationship with Mr. Nixon during the campaign is substantially inconsistent with two Nixon statements. The President said on April 30 that "to the maximum extent possible . . . I sought to delegate campaign operations, to remove the day-to-day campaign decisions from the President's office and from the White House." On August 22, in the course of deploring Watergate for the umpteenth time, Mr. Nixon said that "had I been running the campaign rather than trying to run the country and particularly the foreign policy of this country at this time, it would never have happened."

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Exact though repetitious quotation of a part of the President's reference to MacGregor at San Clemente is necessary if the full contrast between the two accounts is to be conveyed. Mr. Nixon was asked if he could "tell us who you personally talked to in directing that investigations be made both in June of '72 . . . and last March 21." The relevant portion of his reply began: "Certainly. In June I, of course, talked to Mr. MacGregor first of all . . . He told me that he would conduct a thorough investigation as far as his entire committee staff was concerned. Apparently that investigation was very effective except for Mr. Magruder" —and here the President said that "Mr. MacGregor does not have to assume responsibility" for believing the lies that the committee's deputy director, Jeb Stuart Magruder, was telling at the time.

MacGregor said in his civil deposition that he met with the President in his Oval Office "at or shortly before 5 p.m. on Friday, June 30," and indicated that they were together well over an hour. "Most of the time," MacGregor said, "he and I spent talking about his hopes and dreams for a second term and what he hoped to accomplish." One of the interrogating lawyers asked MacGregor: "In the course of your conversation with the President, did he mention the Watergate affair. . . .?" MacGregor answered: "It was discussed briefly by us. I said . . . that I was familiar with the fact that it had been asserted by several people, both at the White House and at the Committee for the Re-election of the President, that no person in a position of authority or responsibility had any foreknowledge of or involvement in the Watergate and I indicated that I was assuming that I could rely on that and he said, 'I believe you can,' or words to that effect." MacGregor swore that during his first days with the committee he told John Mitchell and others, in effect: "I am taking the position with the understanding that nobody who is holding over from the Mitchell era had any foreknowledge of or any involvement in . . . the Watergate." He also said that he made some inquiries of staff members, rather casual inquiries by his description, in order to be able to say at press conferences that he "had been given personal assurance" that nobody "in a position of authority or responsibility" was involved. By that time the official view was that G. Gordon Liddy, the committee's counsel, was not "in a position of authority or responsibility" and, later on, that his indictment and conviction therefore had no significance. Fred Malek, a White House assistant who soon joined MacGregor and Magruder at the reelection committee as a second deputy director, swore in a similar civil deposition last July 4 that he and MacGregor accepted John Mitchell's finding and report that there was no high-level involvement. Malek then said under oath: "We [meaning he and MacGregor] made a conscious decision not to seek information on it." So much, in sum, for Mr. Nixon's assertion at San Clemente that MacGregor "told me that he would conduct a thorough investigation" and that "that investigation was very effective."

H. R. Haldeman, then the President's chief administrator and his deputy for practical purposes in management of the 1972 campaign, figured importantly in MacGregor's description of the relationship between him as the committee director and the President. MacGregor summarized Mr. Nixon's instructions to both of them on June 30 as follows: "One, that I would take direction in the conduct of the campaign from and after July 3 from the President and the President only" and "when either I was traveling or he was traveling and we might have difficulty in reaching each other personally, that Bob Haldeman would be the channel of communication between the President and me." MacGregor quoted the President as saying: "Clark, as you know, everybody has suggestions, particularly those who have been associated with me in past campaigns, as you have. I will be offering suggestions to you and making recommendations. I know that you will weigh them as you have [in the past], but you make the decision. If you want to consult with me about any decisions you may make, let me know directly or communicate it through Haldeman." MacGregor said that both the President and Haldeman indicated that they were pleased with the way he operated, "so that there was very little direction or instruction" from the White House. He indicated that his fairly frequent meetings with the President dealt mostly with the President's "personal campaign," rather than with the overall effort. But he also said that Mitchell when he was the committee director, and MacGregor after he succeeded Mitchell, regularly attended Haldeman's senior staff meetings at the White House each morning and that campaign matters were discussed. All in all MacGregor's total account just didn't square with Mr. Nixon's contention that he effectively removed campaign operations and decisions "from the President's office *and from the White House*."

MacGregor's account squared much better with one that Jeb Magruder gave at a Harvard seminar last January, when he was in trouble but not yet indicted and not dreaming that he'd soon be pleading guilty to perjurious obstruction of justice. Harvard University Press has just published an edited transcript of the seminar discussions *(Campaign '72—The Managers Speak)* and in it Magruder says: "There was basically a triad of decision-makers—the President, Bob Haldeman and John Mitchell—until July of '72. They were in constant consultation with each other over major activities. . . . We agreed that the Committee to Re-elect would . . . stay out of the policy decision-making process . . . Similarly, the White House stayed out of the political organizational process . . . We [at the committee] used the same staff system that is used at the White House. We broke up the campaign initially into 16 groups and had deadlines as to when we had to

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have decisions made; we put the decision papers together and fired them off through John Mitchell into Bob Haldeman and the President . . . When Clark MacGregor came over [to the committee] in '72, we remained exactly in the same posture and continued along in exactly the same process that we had started back in May of '71. . . . I don't think it was a mystery."

It wasn't a mystery, except to the extent that the President and his principal political advisers contrived a protective mystery with their associated reelection and finance committees. Such words as "lies" and "liar" are too easily thrown about in this corrupted time, on regretted occasion by me, and it is not contended here that MacGregor and Magruder make an outright liar of Mr. Nixon. Differences of interested recollection don't have to be dishonorable differences. Shades of meaning flicker over the Watergate scene and defy precise judgment. With this allowed, however, the kindest possible judgment has to be that Mr. Nixon really ought to watch his words and respect the facts with more care than he frequently does.

At a televised press conference in Washington on September 5, the President's second in two weeks after five months of hiding from Watergate questions, Mr. Nixon demonstrably departed from fact—in this instance, his own previous version—only once. He answered "nothing whatever" when he was asked whether anything in the White House tapes that he is withholding from Senate investigators and the courts would "reflect unfavorably on your Watergate position." He seemed to have forgotten that he had said in a letter to Senator Sam Ervin last July 23 both that "the tapes are entirely consistent with . . . what I have stated to be the truth" and that "they contain comments that persons with different perspectives and motivations would inevitably interpret in different ways." The President's evident purpose was to further the notion that snide journalists, leering and sneering television commentators and a hostile and dilatory Congress were frustrating his effort to get away from scandal and on with "the business of the people." He had a point and he made it well.

John Osborne

The Question of Succession

Power and Problems in Peking

by Stanley Karnow

Americans ought to be reassured by the immediate consequences of the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in Peking late last month. Premier Chou En-lai and his moderate supporters consolidated their authority, which suggests that their strategy of rapprochement with the United States, currently forging ahead with astonishing speed, will continue its momentum for the present. The four-day meeting also resulted in the relative decline of the radicals, which further reduces the possibility that China will soon return to the isolationist foreign policy it pursued during Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. And the ferocity of the denunciations of the Soviet Union at the conclave make it unlikely that a reconciliation between Peking and Moscow will arise within the near future to jeopardize the Sino-American detente.

But none of this means that the Chinese leaders are solidly unified and that their country is as stable as it often looks to visitors. Tremendous economic difficulties, particularly in the field of agriculture, augur recurrent internal debates over priorities. Controversies are nagging the educational system. The nation's political and administrative institutions, shattered during the Cultural Revolution, are far from rebuilt. Fresh fights for power are in view as the Long March generation headed by Mao and Chou dies, opening the way to rivalries among younger figures. With all this, the Chinese also live in fear that China may again fall prey to outside attacks, as it has in the past.

Chou En-lai plainly underlined these and other problems in his keynote address to the party Congress. Acknowledging that China is still "poor," he asserted that its development must be planned, coordinated and based on "rational rules and regulations" rather than on the kind of voluntaristic schemes promoted by Mao's leftist disciples. He deplored the lethargic reconstruction of the party apparatus, emphasizing that "quite a few" local officials are "engrossed in daily routines and minor matters, paying no attention to

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major issues." He stressed that the fall of Marshal Lin Piao, who is supposed to have been killed two years ago after allegedly attempting to overthrow Mao, has not ended the "struggle" for control of the Communist machinery. The struggle will persist for decades to come, Chou said, warning that "the danger of capitalist restoration" faces China as acutely as does "the threat of subversion and aggression" by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

However with Mao now approaching the age of 80 and Chou himself 75, the main challenge confronting China at the moment is the question of succession. Obsessed by this question in the mid-1960s, Mao launched the Cultural Revolution in the hope that the Red Guards would prove themselves worthy to inherit the mantle of leadership. But the militant youths ran rampant, decimating China's political, administrative and economic structure, and leaving little in the way of positive accomplishments in their destructive wake. The power vacuum was filled by the army, parts of which propelled Lin Piao into the position of Mao's constitutional heir at the 9th Communist Party Congress convened in April 1969. According to Chinese accounts Lin Piao pressed to become chief of state in place of the ousted Liu Shao-chi, and his bid was backed by prominent leftists like Chen Po-ta, Mao's former secretary and ghostwriter, who were maneuvering to perpetuate the key roles they had played during the Cultural Revolution. But Chou En-lai, anxious to prevent another revolutionary round, opposed them. He succeeded in having Chen Po-ta purged in the fall of 1970, probably in an oblique move to block Lin. Soon afterward, the story goes, Lin reacted by trying to overthrow Mao. His plot failed and he fled toward the Soviet Union, dying with his wife and son aboard an aircraft that crashed in Mongolia for lack of fuel. Thus it fell to Chou En-lai to shape a new successor group and his job was not easy.

Committed to putting China back on an even keel after the tumultuous Cultural Revolution, Chou was determined to curb the volatile radicals, downgrade the predominance of the army and reestablish experienced civilian authority capable of managing the country. He also sought to introduce "rational rules and regulations" into the economic sphere in order to discourage such frenetic development episodes as the Great Leap Forward, which nearly wrecked China in the late 1950s. At the same time he perceived the necessity to lift China out of its angry solitude and cement relationships with the United States, Japan and the rest of the world as a means of countering the Soviet menace.

As he implemented these programs Chou gradually "rehabilitated" officials who had been dismissed during the Cultural Revolution, partly because he needed their skills and partly because he estimated that their exoneration would prompt lesser cadres to forget their past humiliations and contribute to the organizational renovation. Considering their "crimes" during the Cultural Revolution, the return of many of these men has been amazing. General Chen Tsai-tao, former commander of the Yangtze River industrial complex of Wuhan, openly mutinied against Peking in July 1967 and was subdued only after the government dropped paratroopers and sent warships of the East China Fleet against him. Today however he holds a senior military post in the coastal city of Foochow. Teng Hsiao-ping, formerly the Communist Party secretary general, was lumped together with Liu Shao-chi as a "counter-revolutionary revisionist" and even berated by Mao for his faults. Yet he reappeared in April with his old rank of vice premier and he is now seen frequently at Peking functions. Tan Chen-lin, another vice premier and director of China's Office of Agriculture and Forestry, was denounced in 1968 by Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, as a "renegade" who had resisted the Cultural Revolution. But he also emerged again a few weeks ago along with Ulanfu, the former party chief of Inner Mongolia, who had been accused of "towering crimes against the people." And among the members of the Central Committee announced at last month's Congress was still another target of the leftists, Li Ching-chuan, who in 1967 had been called "a sworn enemy of the proletarian dictatorship" when, as party boss of populous Szechwan province, he had fought against Mao's supporters.

Chou's pardon for these and numbers of other officials who had opposed Mao has predictably aroused the ire of the radicals and, employing the Chinese technique of using the past for current purposes, they recently criticized him in an article condemning Confucius. In an obvious swipe at Chou's exoneration efforts the article assailed the Confucian concept of calling "back to office those who have retired into obscurity" as an "out-and-out reactionary political slogan for the restoration of the old and moribund." Other articles clearly aimed at Chou's economic policies have come out against his present effort to increase agricultural and industrial output by relying more on expertise, profits and material incentives than on ideological stimulation. Still other articles apparently reflecting the viewpoint of the leftists have been praising the Red Guards and blaming their excesses on "political swindlers" like Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao.

Despite this radical recrudescence Chou succeeded at last month's party Congress in assembling a "collective leadership" that bears the stamp of a compromise arrangement that is qualified rule until Mao's death and perhaps through the transition period that follows. Carefully avoiding the mistake of Lin Piao, who put himself out in front in a vulgar display of ambition in 1969, Chou merely seems to share power in the nine-man Standing Committee of the Politburo headed by Mao. But two members of the committee, Marshal Yeh Chien-ying and the army's chief political

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commissar, General Li Teh-sheng, are close to Chou; two others, Chang Chun-chiao and the unusually young Wang Hung-wen, both from Shanghai, can be considered his protegés; and the rest are aged party veterans without any real influence. That the radicals suffered a setback is evident in the fact that Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, and the Shanghai publicist, Yao Wen-yuan, both of whom were active in the Cultural Revolution, did not rise in the hierarchy even though they retain their seats in the Politburo. Mao's position in all this is as complex as his character. He is reportedly healthy and lucid despite his advanced years. But if the policies being put into effect are any measure, his actual authority has waned, except in one important respect—China's implacable hostility toward the Soviet Union.

Mao has despised the Kremlin with increasing passion ever since the rise of Khrushchev and his hatred was mirrored in Chou En-lai's address to the Congress. Describing Soviet Party leader Leonid Brezhnev as a clumsier version of Hitler, Chou blamed him for actions ranging from the creation of a "fascist dictatorship" in the Soviet Union to the dismemberment of Pakistan. He warned that the Russians may stage a "surprise attack" against China, yet in his typically sweet-and-sour fashion, he offered to negotiate the Sino-Soviet boundary dispute on the basis of the "principles of peaceful coexistence." In large part Chou's diatribe against Moscow appears to have been a response to expanding Soviet attempts to isolate the Chinese from other Communist states. It seems as well that Chou has been using the spectre of the Soviet threat to unify the Chinese, especially at a time when his control over the country is critical.

Although he linked the Soviet Union and the United States as "superpowers" both colluding and competing in their quest for world hegemony, Chou drew a discernable distinction between the two. Sino-American relations have "improved to some extent," he conceded cautiously, attributing this change to a decline of the United States. And, apparently speaking to his radical critics inside China, he defended his reconciliation with the Nixon administration as a "necessary compromise" that is different from the accord between US "imperialism" and Soviet "revisionism." The difference Chou said was explained by Lenin: "One must distinguish between a man who gave the bandits money and firearms in order to lessen the damage they can do and facilitate their capture and execution, and a man who gives bandits money and firearms in order to share in the loot."

For the moment then the relationship between the United States and China is on track. But Chou is not immortal and his present victory may contain the seeds of instability that could eventually fray Sino-American ties. The key to the future lies in the Chinese successors. How they will behave is a question that even Mao, with all his infallibility, cannot answer.

Our Public School Monopoly

by S. Francis Overlan

When nonpublic schools were under legislative attack in the 1920s, the US Supreme Court responded with political and educational *philosophy:* "The fundamental theory upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State. . . ." Today, when a handful of overwhelmingly middle-class parents appear squeezed in their nonpublic school patronage, Richard M. Nixon relies on political *slogans* and promises of survival money: "I am irrevocably committed to these propositions: that America needs her nonpublic schools; that these nonpublic schools need help; that therefore we must and will find ways to provide that help." The difference in approach is not merely one of principled Court *versus* pragmatic President. Rather

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it reflects the extent to which we have all become accustomed to a public school monopoly—with a handful of private schools serving as "supplement."

The Supreme Court's *Pierce v. the Society of Sisters* decision struck down a Ku Klux Klan inspired law aimed at closing all private schools in Oregon. Had the Court not intervened, Oregon parents choosing to send a child to any but their local public school would have been guilty of a misdemeanor. And each day's failure to send a child to public school would have constituted a separate offense resulting in additional fines. In what has been hailed as "the Magna Charta of nonpublic schools in the United States," the Court established the private school's right to exist and, more basically, the parent's right to choose a private school for his child. These constitutional rights are atrophying today.

The facts: in 1970 approximately 51.4 million children attended regular day schools within the United States. Just under 46 million of these attended public schools; five and a half million were enrolled in private institutions. Between 1960 and 1970 public school enrollments grew by over nine and a half million youngsters. During the same period, private school enrollments dwindled by 400,000 students. In 1960 86 out of every 100 youngsters attended public schools. By 1970 89 out of every 100 students were enrolled in public schools. The US Office of Education projects that 91 out of every 100 students will be attending public schools by 1980. Today nonpublic schools are closing at the rate of about one each day. *The conclusion:* private schools are an endangered species.

It is intriguing to speculate about how private schools are being driven out of business through the economics of a monopoly. One line of speculation flows something like this: since schooling costs a lot of money, and since the government controls about 90 percent of the nation's elementary and secondary school market, the actions of the public monopoly profoundly affect the existence of private schools. In the decade 1962-72, for example, the per pupil cost of public education in the United States rose by almost 140 percent. On the one hand, this means that parents wishing to send their children to nonpublic schools had first to pay their share of rising public school costs, leaving themselves strapped for private educational expenditures. On the other hand, the rising price of public schooling also stimulated price increases within the miniscule private market. Headmasters report that the private school teacher began to demand and to get wages competitive with those of the public school teacher whose average annual salary jumped by over $4000 (76 percent) between 1962 and 1972. This kind of speculation ends in the conclusion that, if things continue through the 1970s along the path established in the 1960s, only the very, very affluent who can afford both higher taxes and heavier private school tuitions will be able to exercise their constitutional right to choose private education.

As intriguing as this line of reasoning may be, it appears woefully inadequate. In March 1972 three social scientists, sympathetic to the plight of nonpublic schools, reported to the President's Commission on School Finance that "so far as we are aware, not one of the recent analyses of relationships between enrollment and tuition levels has produced evidence that parents are leaving nonpublic schools primarily because of increasing costs." They concluded, "one must be naive, uninformed or dishonest to depict the current enrollment decline in nonpublic schools as fundamentally a consequence of cost increases." Their conclusion reflects the fact that the decline of nonpublic school enrollments has been mainly a decline of Catholic school enrollments. It also reflects their social and cultural theory that, as Catholics become assimilated to "the American way of life," they no longer want separate schools for their children. Such an explanation is certainly less conspiratorial and sinister. It does not depend upon our viewing the larger enterprise as relentlessly swallowing up its competition through iron laws of economics. But, by focusing on the decline of private school enrollments, it also fails to account sufficiently for the vigorous growth of public schools. Why don't Catholic parents choose nonsectarian private schools rather than switching all the way to public schools?

Public schooling thrives and grows, not by parasitically draining private enrollments, but by being an attractive educational option that performs well its assigned tasks. In short ours is a gentle public school monopoly, welcomed by almost all American parents. This conclusion is supported by surveys of public opinion carried out by Gallup in 1969 and by Harris in 1970. Obviously this conclusion does not square with the rhetoric of school reformers who build their proposals for educational improvement on the presumption of general citizen discontent with public education. These reformers point to the rash of defeats for property tax proposals and to the widespread recognition that large numbers of inner-city youngsters are failing academically as signs of deep citizen dissatisfaction with the public school status quo. But there is no evidence that either of these phenomena masks citizen rejection of public schooling. Budget defeats may merely mean that, in the value scheme of many Americans, the cost of education is simply getting too high.

Intensive surveys on "The Public's Attitude Toward the Public Schools" carried out by Gallup in 1969, 1970, 1971 and 1972, confirm this less drastic conclusion. When asked to identify "the biggest problems with which the *public* schools in this community must deal," citizens consistently put "finances" at or near the very top of the list. The respondents also consistently cite "discipline" as a major problem, but also

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indicate that it is parents who are mostly to blame for that. Certainly they show little enthusiasm for identifying school programs or teachers or administrators as "the biggest problems." On the contrary, when asked what they view as "particularly good" about their local public schools, citizens—including private school parents—most frequently identify their public school "teachers" and "curriculum." A dispassionate observer is drawn to conclude that citizens are saying that public education is fine, but that it costs too much. Citizens are consistently against local property tax increases and suggest that the burden be shifted to the state government. This, of course, is not what the public school critics have in mind when they speak of citizen discontent.

Similarly, while conceding and deploring the fact that children in inner-city schools are not learning to read and write and cipher as well as they should, one cannot necessarily conclude that the average American attributes these failures to public education. This potential connection was explored, at least indirectly, in the 1971 and 1972 intensive Gallup surveys. Citizens were asked, "When some children do poorly in school, some people place the blame on the children, some on the children's home life, some on the school, and some on the teachers. Of course, all of these things share the blame, but where would you place the *chief* blame?" The answer given by the greatest percentage of respondents is "the children's home life." Well over half of the adults interviewed say that. Fourteen percent name "children," eight to 12 percent, "teachers." A shockingly low six percent accuse "the schools" of being the culprit behind academic failure. Gallup concluded that these results were so significant that a change in focus of the present debate about school accountability for failure was indicated. There has been no noticeable shift in the rhetoric of public school reformers however.

The widespread satisfaction and the lack of profound discontent with public schooling is probably based, at least in part, upon the public system's responsiveness to the will of its largest or its most powerful or its noisiest constituency. Public schools *are* responsive; they do not operate like a closed system. Perhaps they do not (and probably should not) lead, but if there is public criticism, they react. After Sputnik, for example, public schools "toughened up" their curriculum. Every school district where the demand was felt got a new language laboratory. Russian and Chinese were added to the curriculum. And so were more rigorous science courses. In the 1960s America discovered its "disadvantaged," and so did the schools. In the early 1970s citizens saw drugs as a serious problem for middle-class youth. Drug education and counseling programs were instantly launched. It does not matter whether public education has any real capacity to solve the problems society thrusts upon it. Ever responsive, the public schools try.

There are, of course, practical limits to this kind of responsiveness. No one school—whether public or private—can be all things to all parents. Those who want greater leniency and those who want greater rigor are seldom happy with the same school for their children. In avoiding this conflict (and its resultant dissatisfaction), public education demonstrates its availability in what might be described as the "cooptation" of the parent choice issue *within the public school system itself.* Traditionally there have been public school options for concerned and mobile parents who need not, therefore, even face the issue of private school choice. Without any need to justify academic decisions, parents with the interest, the money and the right skin color can move their home from neighborhood to neighborhood (within or across municipal borders) in search of the school of their choice. This has been the safety valve for those parents who do not find the local public school responsive to *their* particular desires. The results and the evidence of such choice can be found in so-called de facto segregation of public schools. Forceful working-class whites in Boston, for example, can have their schools in the North End or in South Boston. As they become more affluent, they can gain access to more prestigious Boston public schools in West Roxbury. Or they can move to suburban Brookline or Newton. Whether fleeing minority group students or searching for expensive "quality" schools, concerned and able parents can make important *public* school choices without being forced to investigate the private school option.

The extraordinary capacity of public schools to "coopt" the parent choice issue has recently been demonstrated again in reaction to two potential threats to almost universal public schooling: the "free school movement" and the tuition voucher idea. Notwithstanding considerable debate among free school advocates both about the number of such schools and about preferred educational styles within them, there has never been any serious doubt that "free schools" were expected to be "outside the system." Similarly, while voucher proponents have hotly argued the merits of one specific scheme as against all others, there has been no serious question that vouchers would permit—and even force—parents to make a conscious choice about whether to send their children to a publicly managed or to a privately managed school. What is remarkable is the public school system's ability to absorb both of these potential threats.

As a response to the "free school movement," public school employees, trustees and their supporters have developed widely ranging alternatives *within the public school system.* In Minneapolis, for example, members of the University of Minnesota community and their neighbors can now choose among several brands of public schooling in the Southeast Alternatives program. With financial support from the US Office of

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Education, the Minneapolis Public Schools developed distinctive academic programs at five different sites: the Contemporary School, the Continuous Progress Primary School, the Open School, the Free School and Marshall-University School. Parents and students were then invited to take their choice independent of neighborhood residence. During the program's first year (1971), 28 percent of the elementary students in the Southeast Alternatives area were sent by their parents to other than their regular neighborhood school. The Open School, modeled after many British Infant Schools, provoked the most reaction—for and against. While many students who would have regularly attended it as a neighborhood school went elsewhere, many others transferred into the Open School from outside the neighborhood. Clearly the most advanced example of such alternatives within the public schools is underway near another university, in Berkeley, California. With help from the Ford Foundation and the US Office of Education, the Berkeley Unified School District offers 21 school options to parents and students. Both of these public school systems have developed at least one "free school," a name no longer reserved for alternatives "outside the system."

Even more remarkable has been the fate of the potential voucher threat. Probably the most widely discussed variant, "the regulated compensatory voucher plan" developed in 1969 by Christopher Jencks and others at the Center for the Study of Public Policy in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was proposed, not for immediate establishment, but merely for carefully controlled testing in four or five school districts out of the thousands in the nation. The plan would permit parents to cash in government vouchers at either a public or private institution. There is little progress to report. Only six districts have asked for generous OEO grants even to *study* whether they would give the voucher plan a test: Alum Rock in San Jose, California; Gary, Indiana; New Rochelle, New York; Rochester, New York; San Francisco, California; and Seattle, Washington. And four of these districts—the larger ones—have already decided not to give the plan even a limited test in some of their schools to see how it might work. The best news to date has come from Alum Rock, a relatively unknown and underfinanced elementary school district in San Jose, California, where the local school board decided last spring to permit six of its 16 schools to demonstrate the practicability and desirability of the regulated compensatory voucher plan. OEO calls the Alum Rock test a "transitional phase of the voucher demonstration," principally because *only public schools* are eligible for vouchers. The Alum Rock plan does leave open the possibility of "new schools"—initiated outside the public system—becoming eligible to cash vouchers, so long as they are acceptable to and sign a contract with the local public school board. No quasi-public voucher school has yet been established in Alum Rock. Even if it is, serious doubts remain about the extent to which the school would be allowed to operate independently and whether in a crunch the public school system will call in its contract and all financial support. The only other public school district toying with the idea of demonstrating the regulated compensatory voucher plan is New Rochelle, New York. Although no decision has yet been made about launching a voucher demonstration there, the local school board and superintendent will probably insist that only public schools be allowed to cash vouchers. University of Chicago Professor Donald A. Erickson wrote in February 1973, "I consider the 'voucher plan' in Alum Rock to be another example of how purportedly radical reforms in education are rendered innocuous in the process of gaining acceptance by mainstream schools." It is another example indeed of the public monopoly's ability to absorb shocks and thereby to learn new self-preservative responses. Having captured much of the practical thrust for diversity and parent choice behind the free school movement and the voucher struggle, public schools can now offer parents access to attractive and sharply different public school options.

It is true that Americans display considerable satisfaction with their public schools, in part because these schools are responsive to citizen concerns and give rein to parent choice. It is also true that, from recent threats, public schools seem to have gained even more strength. But these conclusions do not imply that public school hegemony is utterly immutable. On the contrary precisely because it flourishes only with the consent of the governed, the public monopoly can be challenged. This challenge *could* arise from citizen reaction to new social science critiques of schooling, to the further escalation of school costs, or even to continued declines in private school enrollments.

Beginning with the "Coleman Report" in 1966 and continuing through a controversial book entitled *Inequality* this fall, social scientists have been mercilessly dissecting public schools and our myths about them. They have published their partially confirmed hypotheses that school quality has little independent impact upon children's academic achievement and, further, that "better" schools do not appreciably aid students in getting "better" jobs and higher incomes. Should Americans choose to hold on to their traditional hopes for these practical effects from schooling (while ignoring the other social science conclusion that *no* schooling experience appears sufficiently powerful to override the impact of family and other basic social institutions), they may conclude that the "failure" of public schools to fulfill "the American Dream" warrants drastic change. Under the conditions of desperation that shattered dreams provoke, citizens might turn to another traditional dream—the free enterprise system. One can imagine the growth of a new myth: that schools can produce anything we

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want if only they are goaded by competition.

Continued escalation of public school costs could also draw greater attention to the competition theme. In the period 1962-1972 public school enrollments grew by 17 percent. But during the same period the number of classroom teachers in public schools increased by just under 40 percent. And during the same period the salaries of this disproportionately larger number of public school teachers rose by over 75 percent. The interplay of these trends has in large part been responsible for dramatic unit (per pupil) cost increases for public schools: from $433 in 1962 to $1034 in 1972. Shifting school financing from the local to the state level will affect the visibility of school taxes, but it will not cut costs. As a matter of fact a persuasive argument can be made that even greater increases will result if state governments assume a greater share of public school expense. With or without larger state contributions there will be those who will conclude that "the free enterprise system" and "competition" are the only way to get public school prices down.

Concomitantly or independently further declines in private school enrollments could themselves result in counterpointed challenges to the dominance of public education. If declines persist and if publicity campaigns by private school interests succeed in convincing politicians that a "crisis" can be avoided with "money," then some government support might flow. The fragility of this kind of challenge to public school dominance has been recently demonstrated. Tax credit legislation, whereby parents of private school students would have got tax reductions to offset some tuition costs, had passed two or three state legislatures. Both 1972 presidential candidates, as well as members of the powerful House Ways and Means Committee, had expressed support for national legislation to reduce federal income tax paid by private school patrons. While such partial and circuitous subsidies by government would have addressed only the financial *symptoms* of enrollment declines, tax credits could have had far-reaching psychological impact. Without doubt their availability would at least annually have raised the private/public choice issue to the national consciousness. And even though the state laws and congressional proposals would have offered meager financial relief to private school patrons and managers, many citizens would probably have seen private schooling as freshly legitimized. They might also have been attracted to private schooling at "bargain" prices. What has become a habit of choosing *free* public schools might thus have been weakened.

In a series of anti-parochiaid decisions in late June however, the US Supreme Court ruled such tax credit schemes unconstitutional, with three justices—including Chief Justice Burger—strongly dissenting. These decisions constitute a serious setback for private school partisans and for those eager to see the public monopoly challenged. There will be other efforts however and these will be tied to continuing declines in private enrollments. Education vouchers, for example, have not yet been tested before the Supreme Court. And, although some of the Court majority's anti-tax credit logic could apply with equally negative force to some pro-voucher arguments, there remains some slight possibility that the Court would not rule vouchers unconstitutional. With regard to any new and imaginative proposals that would bring public money to large numbers of privately managed schools, one can almost predict that solutions that have political attraction will be constitutionally flawed and that those solutions that are constitutionally acceptable will be politically unattractive (either because they give too little assistance to private school patrons or because they put too much strain on the public treasury). All hope is not lost. But reasonable hopes are seriously diminished.

Suppose that even additional social science critiques call into question the practical efficacy of public education, that the cost of schooling continues to mushroom, and that private enrollments dwindle even more dramatically. And suppose that these phenomena trigger demands for greater competition in education. Nevertheless one should not anticipate that Americans will become involved in a national *philosophical* debate about "the fundamental theory upon which all governments in this Union repose" nor about whether the child is or is not "the mere creature of the State." On the contrary only *practical* problems and *practical* disappointments will be addressed. Any changes will be viewed as technological reforms, rather than as basic shifts in educational or political philosophy.

In addition one should not expect any resultant private school growth to cut deeply into public school dominance—even if some government support begins flowing to private institutions. For at no time in this century, even when private—particularly parochial—school costs were absurdly low, have private institutions enrolled as many as 15 percent of the nation's elementary and secondary pupils. The recent "free school movement" (outside the system) is illustrative. Begun about 1967 with considerable enthusiasm and with rock bottom prices, it has to date attracted fewer than 20,000 students—five-hundredths of one percent of current public school patronage. Only cataclysmic and unforseeable shifts in public opinion could bring private enrollments in "free schools," in elite prep schools, in military academies and in parochial schools up to a respectable 20 percent of the total eligible student population. Thus four or five million more youngsters could switch to private institutions, still leaving public schools with four out of five of the nation's elementary and secondary students. Such a shift might challenge, but will certainly not overthrow, the public school monopoly of our minds.

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A Fresh Approach to Integrated Housing

Racially Changing Neighborhoods

by Charles Hammer

Once upon a time it was the big thing for white idealists to demonstrate brotherhood by moving their families into a racially changing neighborhood. And almost invariably they soon found themselves the last whites in an otherwise all-black neighborhood, a situation no more "natural" than its all-white opposite. So the rest of us caught on (me included) and joined the flight to the stable suburbs. I am here to argue that despite all the sweat and seeming futility, those sweet idealists were dead right.

Try imaginatively to put yourself in one such racially changing neighborhood of Kansas City, Missouri, where I have written as a newspaperman for more than a decade. Like hundreds of similar city neighborhoods in the '40s it was modest, attractive, separated physically from the jammed black ghetto only by one street. For years racial covenants in deeds had prevented the crossing of that street. Then, as 1950 approached, the US Supreme Court declared those covenants unenforceable and the ghetto began expanding southward. Real estate brokers and mortgage bankers cooperated to prevent any scattering that might have resulted in permanently integrated neighborhoods. Block after block was emptied of whites to be filled with blacks.

So swift and chaotic was the change at times that the ratio of black children in one elementary school soared from 25 to 65 percent in a single year. Physical deterioration started when whites saw the wave coming, for they suspended all maintenance of property. The early black arrivals—middle class and nearly always better educated than existing white residents—struggled to keep up their homes. It is no reflection on them to say property values plummeted, since the market was glutted with homes put up for sale by desperate whites. The wave continued, bringing poor blacks from the inner city.

Here we created—are still creating—the worst possible situation for the neighborhood meeting of the races. Even poor black families would have responded better in a stable community where old residents could have monitored them with a critical eye. They came instead to neighborhoods in disorder, and they were treated to a destructive vision of themselves as the pariahs who had caused it. "The thing I dread," said a black judge, "is when I have to explain to my little girl about that kind of thing. That's a cutting thing for a parent to have to tell a child."

Whites who might have been willing to accept integration were never offered a choice. They could flee or prepare to live in a virtually all-black neighborhood. Courageous resistance in the name of understanding invariably proved useless, since there was no metropolitan plan which might have made such gestures successful.

In the wake of neighborhood turnover has come most of Kansas City's other urban problems—loan foreclosures, widespread housing abandonment, new slums, sharp de facto school segregation and a black pupil ratio that has now soared beyond 50 percent.

In 1950 no Kansas City census tract in which the population was more than 24 percent black extended south of 31st Street. In 1970 one tract with a population 39 percent black reached south to 77th. Between lay five miles of neighborhoods, some virtually all black now, the rest still changing. In 20 years some 67,000 whites—equal to almost one-fifth of the city's entire 1950 white population—left Southeast Kansas City.

Much has been said about the white flight to the suburbs. Little has been said or done about its origins, which lie here, in the changing neighborhood. Kansas City may be considered among a lucky few: its ratio of black citizens grew only from 12 percent in 1950 to 22 percent in 1970. Consider the consequences in Chicago, where the comparable figures are 14 and 33 percent; Philadelphia, 18 and 34 percent; Detroit, 16 and 44 percent; or Washington, DC, 35 and 71 percent.

It is a mathematical axiom that as a circle expands the area of isolation inside grows faster than the line of contact around its circumference. No surprise, then, that the American metropolis is more segregated than ever. In 1950 only one-fourth of Kansas City's blacks lived in neighborhoods more than 90 percent black. In 1970 nearly half lived in such areas. Chicago's principal segregating years came between 1920, when none of the city's blacks lived in tracts more than 90 percent black, and 1950, when 67 percent did.

The segregation of cities is becoming segregation of suburbs as the Washington DC ghetto pushes eastward into Prince Georges County, the Cleveland ghetto expands tentatively into DeKalb County, the Baltimore ghetto begins its break westward into Baltimore County. The pattern of ghetto formation and expansion holds even in suburbs such as Media, Chester

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and Darby outside Philadelphia, Maywood west of Chicago, Grandview outside Indianapolis.

All this would be fine if blacks wanted compact, fortress neighborhoods that could be defended in race war—and if whites wanted handy concentration camps that could be ringed with wire in emergencies. But even die-hard racists on each side don't want that. Yet that is what we have and are getting more of.

Racial turnover begins anew tomorrow and continues forever. But not if citizens organize to stop it. It will take more than the old liberal appeals to human decency, however. Needed now are appeals to interest, appeals to black and Chicano families weary of neighborhood turbulence, to middle-class and working-class whites whose neighborhoods are threatened by turnover, to suburban whites willing to accept integration if it comes with a guarantee against their greatest fear, racial turnover. We need to shift black buying out of the changing neighborhood into stable, outlying areas where scattered purchases by blacks will cause no panic. Here is the rallying cry: "Stop resegregation. Keep East Cleveland integrated. (Make it Prince Georges County or Media or Maywood.) Open cities everywhere."

In nearly every area undergoing turnover there are organizations, usually interracial, which can be useful—Serena Hills Neighbors in a Chicago suburb, the former Dayton View Stabilization Project in Dayton, Ohio, South DeKalb Neighbors near Atlanta. Such groups need alliances in outlying white neighborhoods. Many have found them in the fair housing councils that have sprung up across the country. Blacks can make common cause with whites in the changing neighborhood only when the purpose clearly is not simply the exclusion of blacks. The charge that whites in the changing area only want to move blacks elsewhere can be blunted best by suburban whites eager for new black neighbors.

Such alliances should demand for the changing neighborhood its share and more of city services. If economies are to be made in garbage collection, housing, law enforcement, city beautification, they should be made by neighborhoods without the worst problems. The changing area must be first on the list for tree-planting, city-financed street improvements, park recreation programs and high-quality moderate-income housing. It should be last on the list as a site for low-income housing. It must be protected by city ordinances against blockbusting and the real estate "for sale" signs that tend to increase anxiety.

When racial change in housing begins, citizens should demand of their school board that the schools change more slowly or not at all. Switching individual school boundaries a few blocks often can prevent the swift change in school population that frightens white families. Busing can accomplish more, and busing to stop turnover is far more likely to be tolerated by whites than busing for integration.

The city-suburban alliance could also awaken local government to new options. One idea being discussed by certain city planners would help the changing neighborhood by guaranteeing every resident the return of his home investment there. By easing fears that homes will lose value, the plan would take countless houses off the market, bolstering prices sufficiently that the cash outlay might be relatively small.

Another plan calls for administrators to define neighborhoods likely to undergo racial turnover—white to black, black to white. Government would then pay substantial bonuses—call them "open city" payments—for home purchases there by qualified families whose presence tends to reverse the trend. This would almost always mean paying whites to fill vacancies in changing neighborhoods near the black ghetto. The more controversial obverse side of that notion would have government reward families whose purchases integrated a neighborhood where their race was in a specified, tiny minority and where there was no future danger of racial turnover. This would be positive encouragement for black purchases in the suburbs and—for that matter—white purchases in the heart of the ghetto. Some such scheme would create new white buyers for the changing neighborhood, stop the drop in values, stiffen resistance by the old residents and push black families into outlying areas.

This pattern of dispersal—the pattern of an integrated society—already is emerging. It may be clearest outside Washington, DC, where more than half of the 460 elementary schools in suburban districts showed percentage increases in black enrollment even before 1969. Chicago suburbs such as Skokie, Highland Park and Park Forest exhibit the same pattern, as do a few areas in nearly all of the nation's metropolitan areas.

The ghetto and changing neighborhood are one market, divided up among black real estate brokers and certain white brokers. Outlying neighborhoods are another, served largely by a separate group of brokers, almost all white. Black families usually find their way voluntarily or are steered to brokers of the first group—a fact that predetermines the housing they will be shown. But interesting things happen when the dual housing market is cracked—when a broker with access to black buyers gets listings in all-white neighborhoods. A pair of black brokers in Kansas City, Kansas put together such an effort in the mid-1960s and lightly integrated the formerly all-white west side of that city. In 1966 one of the two, Donald Sewing, bought a home for himself in the nearly all-white bedroom suburban area of Johnson County, Kansas. Since then he has negotiated sale of more than 40 homes there to black families, making a conscious effort to scatter them.

The force of such adroit personal effort can hardly be overestimated. In 1965 Dorothy Davis, a white housewife from an outlying Kansas City neighbor-

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hood, began to wonder why FHA-foreclosed homes in all-white neighborhoods were never sold to blacks. She learned that on market day, when black brokers called in to bid, they were always told the house was already sold. So Mrs. Davis bought one herself, proving in the process that the FHA managing broker had been "pre-selling" these homes to whites before they officially went on the market. She carried the story to a newspaper. Suddenly the foreclosed homes began to sell to black families.

Her work underlines the necessity for citizen scrutiny of federal housing agencies such as FHA and the Veterans Administration. Former HUD Secretary George Romney startled these fusty organizations with new guidelines that helped put some federally subsidized housing for low- and moderate-income families in the suburbs. Inept administration cost the nation much of the good Romney sought. But there is still opportunity for citizens to make something out of the remnants of the Romney era.

In few places around the nation has the trend toward integration taken shape as well as in Dayton, Ohio. The first question to be settled by the Miami Valley Regional Planning Commission there was whether dispersal of low-income housing was necessary and right. The staff of the five-county commission studied the problem for more than a year and in 1970 answered, "Yes." The staff proposed a plan for building 14,000 federally subsidized housing units for low- and moderate-income families. The units were to be dispersed on a formula almost the reverse of past practice: the richer the community, the richer and less crowded the schools, the fewer families of low income, the more low- and moderate-income housing that suburb was assigned. The member cities and counties on the commission approved the plan 30-0. Virtually no subsidized housing had been built before in the metropolitan area outside Dayton. Today 800 units are completed or under construction outside Dayton, and another 2700 are in process. In Dayton itself another 1800 units have been completed or under construction, with 665 others on the way. All are scattered and well away from the ghetto.

Dale Bertsch, Miami Valley executive director, says the major reason for the acceptance the plan has won is that people know each area gets its share of subsidized housing—no more. Miami Valley halted plans for a 465-unit project in Madison township, which is substantially integrated and lies directly in the path of northeastward black movement from Dayton. By opening themselves to racial integration, the Dayton suburbs have gone far toward protecting themselves from racial turnover.

Not directly connected with the Dayton plan but one reason for its success is the former Dayton View Stabilization Project, a city agency set up to battle racial turnover. Its first director, Joe Wine, is another example of how personal weight can help tip the scale. He left a job as department store executive and later became a community organizer of modest national reputation. While leading Dayton View, he helped convince Dayton citizens that only by opening the suburbs could they prevent resegregation of the city.

The Dayton plan is the flying prototype of a machine that could be mass produced across the nation, just as the locally developed Philadelphia plan or variants of it were multiplied to increase minority employment in construction. The first Dayton copy came off the line in 1972, when the Washington Area Council of Governments adopted a fair share dispersal plan. Your town could follow.

The Dayton plan leads inevitably into economic integration, which is precisely where it should. But citizens must demand that when the poor meet the better-off in outlying neighborhoods, they do so under the best of circumstances. That rules out the sort of high-rise, completely low-income project that caused a revolt among middle-class residents of Forest Hills in New York. Far better would be a garden apartment development on a suburban corner, with perhaps 40 moderate-income families and 10 low-income families. Every possible help should be extended to the families, but a landlord should hang in the background, ready to evict any family that fouls the nest. The few that cannot succeed even with major help simply must find a place in inner-city public housing.

The development described here will work—already is working in many outlying neighborhoods across the nation. In it both the poor and the moderate-income families gain housing far better than they could otherwise afford. And the old residents of the neighborhood console themselves that at least it is new construction, that the situation is under control—far better than the sweep of poor and black through crumbling neighborhoods half a century old.

The Dayton Public Opinion Center in one poll asked a cross-section of Montgomery County residents (the county is 14 percent black) whether they agreed or disagreed that their own neighborhood should have a mixture of races and economic groups. Five percent replied they agreed strongly, while 56 percent merely agreed—a total of 61 percent on the integration side. Asked whether subsidized apartments should be built only in Dayton or scattered into suburbs as well, 81 percent of Dayton residents—not surprisingly—said they should be scattered. But 69 percent of the suburban people also voted for scattering.

"It's a natural thing for people to be provincial and protective and frightened," says Joe Wine, "particularly when there is no public ethic. Conversely, if people can be brought to understand the rightness, the essential rightness—witness what Miami Valley has done—people can be matured to understand moral purpose. That's why the work we've been involved in is so exciting."

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

American Graffiti

(Universal)

Visions of Eight

(Cinema V)

Everyone thinks his young years were fascinating, and everyone is right. For himself. But when artists use their young years as subject matter, which they frequently do, they have to prove that their young years can be fascinating to others. Broadly speaking, there are only two ways to do this: by showing that your young years were extraordinary or by finding depth and form that illuminate and *preserve* the commonplace.

The young American director George Lucas has tried for the latter. He has taken some familiar bull right by the horns and has wrestled it into a reasonably good film. A couple of years ago (*TNR*, April 10, '71) Lucas made a "future" film called *THX 1138* in which he lavished impressive cinematic skills on material so trite that he made me feel he had "an arrogance toward the need to have a fresh idea." This new script—by himself, Gloria Katz and Willard Huyck—still has no new ideas as such. But working close to what is apparently his own youthful experience, Lucas has so integrated methods and material that he finds some of the depth and form mentioned above; and, to some degree, he transforms the banalities of TV situation comedy into a small epiphany of a period.

American Graffiti, a tart, apt title, is a dusk-to-dawn picture. (Its only resemblance to *La Notte!)* It deals with four high-school buddies, and chiefly with two of them, in a California town in the early 1960s. At the beginning those two boys are presumably bound east for college together, one reluctantly, the other eagerly. By morning, the roles are reversed: the first boy leaves, the second stays with his hometown girl. The reasons for the changes, plus other plot strands involving friends and enemies, make up the story.

But the story is not the film—only its means of coming into being. (Which is what Lucas attempted, less successfully, in *THX 1138.)* The weakest parts are those that try to beef up the script, in plot and literary "theme" terms, like the mysterious blonde in a white T-bird who weaves symbolically through the film, taunting one of the boys. The young performers are all passable, but the pleasures of the picture are in the way it was made. There is no mere springboard of accurate decor, as in *Summer of '42*, which got all its details right, then wallowed ahead into syrup: the milieu, so to speak, *is* this film, or what is best about it.

Lucas has picked a moving medium for a moving picture. Most of it—seemingly—takes place in and around cruising automobiles in the town streets. I saw this phenomenon in the mid-'60s when I spent a weekend in Grand Rapids, Michigan: boys and girls driving slowly up and down the main street all night, couples in cars or all-boy and all-girl cars honking at one another, sometimes conversing as they passed or stopped at lights, just flowing and cruising for hours. It was like the classical promenade of the European village, motorized.

This mobility is of course fit for film, and it's an easy figure of sexual exploration and of social rite of passage—*passage*—to maturity. From dusk to dawn, yet. But Lucas sees the automobile as the focus of other cultural implosions: the broadcast music of the time, the eating of the time (drive-ins, with waitresses on roller skates), even the hoodlumism of the time. When some not-so-juvenile delinquents want to scare one of the boys, what do they do? They take him for a ride!

So we see a group of late adolescents pinned to a target for cultural barrage. The drive-in food has funny names ("a double Chubby Chuck") that seem to feed them as much as the food itself. They are followed everywhere by the voice of a disc jockey whom they adore. (And he's a black man. When one boy goes to see him at his lonely early-morning studio, he denies his identity, saying that he's only the broadcaster of tapes. Lucas implies that it's not yet time for a black deity to reveal himself.) And of course there's the force of the movies themselves, who modeled the gang of hoods and the styles of kissing and romance.

As the picture floated and intertwined, it reminded me of Twyla Tharp's recent ballet *Deuce Coupe*—the phrase occurs in the dialogue—which used early '60s music from one of the same sources, the Beach Boys. The more it resembles ballet, the better *American Graffiti* is. The more it tries to delve into character and build climaxes (like an unbelievable prank on a police car), the thinner and more sitcom it gets.

Haskell Wexler, the accomplished cinematographer who was "visual consultant" on the film, saw the need for realistic abstraction. For instance an all-

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Bang the Drum Slowly. The best baseball picture I can remember. One player safeguards another who is (secretly) doomed by disease. Good sentiment and humor, inconclusive structure by Mark Harris; good direction by John Hancock.

The Friends of Eddie Coyle. The looks of this crime film are syrupy and wrong, but Robert Mitchum's performance as a gangland Willy Loman and the gravelly dialogue make it good underworld sociology.

The Hireling. Sarah Miles and Robert Shaw as titled lady and chauffeur give beautiful performances *within* which this nicely modeled little tragedy exists.

Last Tango in Paris. Burdened with silly overpraise, adolescently profound, it nevertheless has the genuine musk of sex in the early Brando-Schneider scenes.

State of Siege. The Tupamaro abduction and murder of a US official in Uruguay, 1970, re-created without the objectivity it claims but with excitement and point.

A Touch of Class. If you saw Glenda Jackson here for the first time, you'd think she was a fine comedienne, period. (She can do *anything.*) Mostly fast and frivolous old-style comedy-romance.

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A Failure of Political Imagination

The Coming of Post-Industrial Society

by Daniel Bell

(Basic Books; $12.50)

Daniel Bell's fat book *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* is, as its subtitle says, "a venture in social forecasting," an attempt to predict some of the main trends in the 30 or so years remaining to us as we slouch toward the year 2000. Of all people Bell ought to be wary of the banana peel history enjoys tossing in the path of social forecasters. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he was a prominent member of a group of intellectuals who proclaimed "the end of ideology." The idea was that the historic antagonism of labor and capital was finished, at least in economically advanced nations; class warfare would no longer be the central feature of politics. Instead neutral experts would benignly preside over a rational distribution of an ever-increasing Gross National Product. The traditional concerns of the left—from the demands of social democrats for justice and equality to the millenarian fantasies of the apocalyptic left—were retrograde and, historically speaking, irrelevant.

The second half of the '60s made a hash of these predictions. All the advanced Western nations witnessed intensely ideological student uprisings. (The fact that the mood of the time of troubles on the campus has melted away, leaving no trace except for painful memories, indicates nothing at all about the ideological fervor involved; the depth of feeling behind the various revolutions of 1848 in Europe cannot be denied, yet they too left little historical residue.) In this country there were unprecedented minority rebellions. And in all the industrialized nations there were waves of strikes and worker unrest, the likes of which had not been seen since the 1930s.

Events aside, there were also intellectual problems with "the end of ideology," genuine difficulties that were often obscured in the hail of illiterate and sectarian abuse that greeted it. The whole argument rested on assumptions that turned out to be themselves ideological. For one thing it assumed that individual choices in the free market were the best mechanism for establishing social priorities—an assumption suspiciously like capitalist ideology. For another it assumed (a corollary assumption that somehow didn't correlate) that experts could make proper decisions without recourse to moral or political values, the old deluded technocratic dream that science would end the need for the turbulent, messy realm of politics.

Now, as I read him, Bell appears to have reversed himself on a number of key points. *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* is among other things a forceful attack on the technocratic doctrine that the rise of experts will bring about the fall of politics and usher in a new era of smoothly engineered social peace. Bell still thinks that in the coming order, which he calls "post-industrial society," there will be more conscious guidance of the economy, more expertise, and a greater social role for science and theoretical knowledge. He no longer however believes that this will fulfill the technocratic visions of St. Simon, Thorstein Veblen or, I might add, Daniel Bell. Now Bell says that the market system is no longer capable of setting adequate social priorities. Choices once left up to the private individual will become increasingly political matters, questions of conscious, communal deliberation. So much for both capitalism and technocracy.

Bell arrives at this arresting reversal in the course of an extended analysis of the shift from industrial to post-industrial society. (These terms are theoretical constructs, abstract paradigms of social trends in the next three decades.) Up to yesterday, as history goes, we had been living in industrial society—Bell dates its end in the 1940s and 1950s. The central features of industrial society as Bell describes it were the industrial corporation as the prototypical social institution; the decisive impact of the

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machine on the character of work; and the persistent conflict of interest between labor and capital. In the post-industrial order, Bell argues, all these things change. The corporation becomes less central because competing institutions arise and because corporations themselves undergo inner transformations; control shifts from owners to managers, and big firms develop the capacity to capitalize future growth out of their own profits rather than outside investments. The primary image of work is no longer a man standing over a machine, but people dealing with other people. The relative size of the industrial proletariat declines, as new technical and professional strata grow in the service sectors, especially the government and nonprofit sectors, of the economy. The labor issue, which overshadowed all others in industrial society, is "encapsulated" in the post-industrial order; although there are still conflicts of interest over salaries and work conditions, politics is less a class matter and more a search for a general public interest for the government to pursue as it intervenes more and more in the economy.

Bell says that post-industrial society will be shaken by incessant conflict, not the old Marxist kind but one group after another appealing to the political realm to redistribute wealth and to substantiate conflicting rights and interests. In all the scuffling and tumult the main conflict will take the form of a clash between two opposed modes of thought, which Bell calls the economic and the sociologizing. The economic mode stresses functional efficiency and the management of things; its prime value is economic growth, the corollary to which, at least in the capitalist West, has been increased individual consumption. The sociologizing mode sets broader communal, non-economic goals, entailing reductions in output and loss of efficiency. In industrial society economic values prevailed; post-industrial society, Bell thinks, will represent the triumph of sociologizing.

Staring up at this vast panoramic canvas, the reader naturally grows curious to know whether Bell is right. In certain respects he is quite convincing, as when he forecasts a society wracked by competing demands on the political realm: to include previously excluded groups, to distribute income more equally, to readjust the relative size of public and private sectors, to balance individual and social goals, to square demands for increased participation with a greater degree of expertise and professionalism. In other respects Bell seems to me a misleading guide.

Take the whole business about labor. Much of his argument that the labor issue will be less central in post-industrial society rests on changes in the labor force. A majority of workers is no longer engaged in manufacturing or farming, but in the service sector: trade, finance, health, research, education, government. (One in six workers is now in the pay of one of the 80,000 or so units of American government.) By 1980 official estimates reckon that seven in 10 workers will be in the service sector. White collar jobs already outnumber blue five to four.

Bell thinks these dramatic changes decisively alter the labor issue, both because the "old" industrial working class is declining in relative numbers and because the "new" strata will not act the same way as the old industrial working class. I disagree. The relative proportion of blue collar industrial workers is declining, yet in absolute numbers they are increasing. After some 30 years of post-industrial life, semiskilled work—the human cog in the industrial machine—is still the largest single job category. The 1980 projections are that 35 million workers will man Bell's post-industrial service sectors of the economy; there will still be nearly as many workers—33 million—

The Waterbury Tales

What that Junne with hys sunshyn soote
The Capitol hath dazzled to the roote
And blossoms bloome on the cherry,
Then folk break in and bugge Waterbury.

A good WYF as ther, Mr. Mitchell's owne,
Wel koude she carp upon hir telephone.
She lyk to tel the papers, quote-unquote:
"Dorst noon can mak myn housband a scapegoate."

The MITCHELL was a stout and placyd type,
Ful byg he was, and suckyn on hys pype.
"The Whyt Hous Horrors had not my accorde,
But all was mete to reelect Milord."

The CHAIRMAN oft wolde set hys brows to crymple,
He clept hymself a Country Lawyer Symple.
A badde man or fals wolde hym mak syckyn,
Men koud hym trust for used car or fryd chyckyn. [1]

The BAKER was a faire and deep-voicd boye,
Had wed of royl blood from Illinoye.
So certeynly didst Howyrd pleas the crowd,
A star was born (lyk Lancelot of Loud).

A CLERK OF LAW was too, a John of DEANE,
He borrowed gold to wed the Maid Maureene.
Hys memory was ful; of dates koude answyr,
"I warned Milord," quod he, "of Creepyng Cancyr."

The LIDDY had a mustache and byg chartyse
For kydnappyngs and wyrtaps and tartyse. [2]

[1] A holy bird thought to have first been discovered by the White Knight of Sanders. Even the simplest peasants undertook frequent pilgrimages to its shrines, hoping to bring home enough bones for the whole family.

[2] Hookyrs.

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in the old industrial areas of manufacturing, construction and mining. This is certainly an odd way to exit from the stage of history.

Moreover, as he concedes, there are reasons for thinking that the industrial working class will be much more militant and social-minded in coming decades. The percentage of foreign-born is declining sharply, thus ending one of the historic sources of divisiveness among American workers. Workers will be well-educated in the future, most with high school degrees and many with some college or junior college experience. For the first time in history, American blue collar workers are approaching the classic Marxist picture of a well-educated, culturally homogeneous political force. And to judge from recent disputes, the growing agenda of working class discontent will include many old as well as new demands. Better pay will certainly remain an important issue as long as a majority of the American people do not enjoy what the government defines as a moderate standard of living. Wretched and dangerous conditions of work—still outside the control of even relatively affluent workers—are likely to be a major point of dispute. What were once seen as fringe benefits will be more central: pensions, health insurance and care, vacations. Many of these latter sorts of demands involve what might be called the social component of the standard of living; they turn into political demands for amenities, rights and services that only government can provide.

As a percentage of the total labor force, union membership is just what it was in 1947. Yet as Bell notes, the union movement is bigger than ever in absolute numbers, and—partly because of the politicizing of economic issues he describes—it has more political power than ever before in American history. The political potential of a class is in part a reflection of how easy it is to organize; as long as an important base of the economy is industry and industrial productivity—as long as factories exist—it will probably be easier to organize industrial workers than most other groups. (Small units of work and a high proportion of women have traditionally plagued efforts at organizing the service sector, although this may be changing.) As we move from a market system to one in which economic decisions are made through politics, it seems to me that the industrial working class will have more, rather than less, weight in the scheme of things, because it will be the best-organized counterforce to corporate power. Certainly unions will remain decisive in the hopes for the future of a majority of black and minority workers, since despite the phenomenal increase in black and professional technical workers in the '60s, most blacks are still in the ranks of the semiskilled.

Then there are the new strata of educated labor. Through 60 years or so of socialist debate about the "new" working classes, there has run a bright thread of wishful thinking, as one radical theorist after another has tried to locate historical successors to Marx's proletariat. Most attempts to identify the new social saviors have ignored the eagerness of educated labor for marks of status to set it off from blue collar labor, and the degree to which educated and technically skilled workers continue to serve the goals of the institutions for which they work. Nevertheless, when all this is said, educated workers in many of the service, government, technological and nonprofit areas of the economy tend to be critical of the system, feel no particular vested interest in capitalism, and favor a planned economy. Middle class in style of life and professional aspirations, they are subject to chafing industrial or bureaucratic discipline, and, increasingly, the threat of watching their wages vanish in the inflation whirlwind, or of losing their

What tale koud tell? Is thys some kind of Nutte?
In gaol y-sits and keeps hys lippes shutte.

ULASEWICZ ther also was, forsooth,
Koud wel hide gold in any olde phone booth.
Koud gette Hernya (shold watch hys steppen),
From so much hevy laundry bags y-schleppen.

The LORD he reigned in Ovl[3] Ofys sphere,
Ful oft strov he to mak thyngs parfait clere.[4]
But wonder, though it get him legal scrapes,
He, verraily, refus to clere The Tapyse.

A HALDEMAN ther came, a crew-cut oon,
Foks seyd he ran the Whyt Hous lik a Hun.
But strang, whan he befor Committee satte,
So mild was he as any pussye catte.

The EHRLICHMAN explan the word "coverte,"
(He look lyk he eat babys for desserte).
He trow, to sav the Nation from the Pynkes,
"Milord hath Rights Divine to burgl Shrynkes."[5]

Thus spak the PATRYK GRAY, a baldyng guye,
"Ful wel I loved to serv the FBYe,
But shame, I burnd the fyls and sore hav synnd
And dizzy-grow from hangyn slow, slow in the wynd."

Thys was the merrye crew, on TV eache,
And who can say if cumen in impeache?
Nor yet whych man will ansyr to what cryme?
No oon can know, at Thysse Poynt in Tyme.

JUDITH WAX

[3] Scholars disagree on exact translation. Some say it is "Oval" (*i.e.*, a place where you can't be cornered). Others claim, "Offal" (bawdy) or "Awful," (rare).
[4] That is, except when he mak thyngs parfait obscur.
[5] In medieval times, a doctor thought to be of help in "gettyng thy hed togethyr."

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jobs entirely. Most important of all, they are rapidly being organized, and account for the bulk of new union membership. Whether educated labor will turn toward a defensive guild unionism mainly concerned with maintaining its position, or whether it will move to assert its very real interest in a different set of national priorities is one of the most interesting questions facing the American labor movement. We may get a glimmering of these various possibilities in the aftermath of the merger of the American Federation of Teachers with the National Education Association—which will create the second largest American union—and in the emerging self-definitions of municipal and government unions, health workers and professionals.

Given the enormous political potential of both old and new working classes, it is hard to see why Bell thinks the labor problem will be any more "encapsulated" in post-industrial society than it was in the industrial past. To be sure, future labor issues will be charged with racial, ethnic, religious and cultural complexities, but that has always been true of American life. If you had predicted many aspects of American history on the basis of social class alone, you would often have been wrong, which is not at all to deny the decisive importance of social class. Organized labor will not of course always embody everybody's interests in a largely unorganized society. In the 1960s important elements of labor were backward on key issues: race (especially the building trades), the Vietnam war, the Cold War. Similarly in the '70s it is quite likely that portions of the labor movement will be protectionist and ignorant of international issues such as the need to control multinational corporations, opposed to disarmament and blind to environmental questions. Nonetheless the old industrial and the new post-industrial unions are at the moment the only effectively organized part of the complicated political coalition that will have to be built to press for Bell's sociologizing goals. American labor, which so far has been a class movement to temper the effects of capitalism without changing capitalism itself, will have to become more consciously social-minded. Whether it will remains to be seen.

Though Bell does give us a stormy picture of strife in post-industrial society, and though that is in somber contrast to the placid future anticipated by "the end of ideology," there is still a corner

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of Bell's mind that recoils from conflict, longing for some automatic, apolitical means by which sociologizing values will tame the corporate order. Bell's discussion of the future of the American corporation reflects this optimism, relying heavily on the invisible hands tugging on invisible wires that were such an important part of the stage machinery for "the end of ideology." Somehow as new and more personal forms of corporate organization emerge, as new social types develop, and as rival institutions to business grow, the corporation will slide with effortless grace from the economizing to the sociologizing end of the spectrum.

Nowhere in the course of this agreeable fiction does Bell acknowledge that asserting a public interest over the corporations will require leverage against the corporations the political realm does not in fact now possess. This omission is all the more striking in view of Bell's clear sense that the era of social peace the corporations have enjoyed is not likely to return. The environmental issue is only the first of many issues that may awaken Americans to the divergence between corporate and public interests. The drawbacks to the corporate outlook are the same as those of what Bell calls the economic mode of looking at things. It is concerned with economic goods alone, whereas many of the goods that count for so much in our own reckoning of our well-being do not even show up in economists' calculations. The GNP measures wealth, not our true welfare, giving equal weight to expenditures on nerve gas and money spent for hospitals. Indeed as Bell notes, a major problem with our present system of social accounting is that it only measures costs, not benefits, assessing health services for example in terms of money spent on drugs and fees and not by numbers of people cured. A second flaw in the economic outlook is that unplanned technological growth generates more and more of what economists call externalities, costs of private economic acts passed on to the public, such as the air pollution from auto exhaust. Market prices do not reflect the true social costs of many of our goods, and Bell is undoubtedly correct in thinking that a major political issue of the 1970s will be deciding who is to foot the bill for these externalities. A third difficulty with the economic view is that it emphasizes individual, private consumption, which makes planning impossible and systematically creates an imbalance between public and private sectors. We are not as affluent as we like to think; our wealth is heavily mortgaged by unpaid debts to the poor, the old, the minorities, the victims of technological progress and the starved public sector.

Bell is well aware that the major problem of post-industrial society is the unregulated character of the economy and the lack of public control over corporate power. Apart from his appeal to politicians, for whom he now has the dim reverence he once reserved for experts, he offers no plausible explanation of how a public interest can prevail over private corporate interests. His notion of sociologizing contains communal values, but is empty of sources of power to achieve these noneconomic goals; his notions of politics are similarly devoid of thoughts *about* power. Yet he has a good grasp of why politics will matter more as time goes on. The emergence of a truly national, interdependent society, foreign policy and the impingement of other nations on our daily life, the need for long-range planning and control of the economy, the growing social role of expertise—all of which in the end are products of technological change—help explain why the executive branch of government is now so powerfully swollen in all the advanced nations, casting its shadow over every aspect of life.

There is no doubt that politics will control more and more of our lives. The question is: who will control politics? Now we are beginning to recognize the danger to our rights posed by the clandestine national security machinery perfected in the Cold War. It is also obvious from President Nixon's economic policies that the existing integration of corporate political power is not in the interests of a majority of Americans. What we seem to be getting—what ought to cause Daniel Bell some anxiety over the redeeming potential of politics as it now operates—is an American style of bureaucratic collectivism, run for private corporate interests in very much the same way that Mr. Brezhnev and his colleagues preside over a collectivism run for the private benefit of the

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

JUDITH WAX *is a free-lance writer who contributes regularly to* Playboy. CORINNE BROWNE *is a Washington novelist.* STANLEY HOFFMANN *is professor of government and chairman of West European studies at Harvard.*

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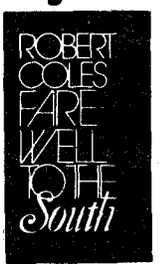

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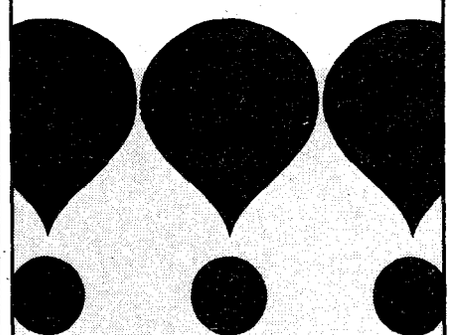

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Soviet elites.

During the thaw in Czech intellectual life, a fascinating study along the line of Bell's book appeared. Radovan Richta and his colleagues argued in *Civilization at the Crossroads* (1967) that the advanced nations in both East and West were building a new class structure and a new ruling class. They foresaw a ruling class of professional and technical elites whose creative and free-wheeling styles of living and working would contrast starkly with the monotonous lives of working class drudges. The Czechs, whose experience of arbitrary power is extensive, were particularly alarmed at the huge social cleavages that put the destiny of the masses in the hands of educated elites. For Bell this is not even a problem. Toward the end of his book he describes the new American attack on meritocracy— making some good criticisms of the excesses of the demand for total participation— but he misses what the Czechs see vividly: the problem of enormous disparities in wealth and power, and the resulting inevitable injustice and corruption.

The only way of arriving at "sociologizing" goals—and of serving the public interest in that manner—is to make American society more democratic and equal. My sense of justice is offended when I learn that the wage differential between the lowest and highest paid workers in American industry is 30 to 1, but apart from abstract outrage I recognize that this degree of economic inequality is also a political menace. As long as it exists, attempts to gain control over the economy will probably be subverted by the capacity of great wealth to veto policy or bend it to its will. The objection to enormous inequality is not simply the fact that some people take home bigger paychecks; the objection is that it sets in motion systematic processes whereby the effects of private and public spending are antisocial, and public policy benefits the wealthy and powerful. There is a tough core of Madisonian realism beneath the oft perfervid rhetoric of the new egalitarianism, and Bell fails to come to term with it.

This is mainly a failure of political imagination. Bell does not understand the argument for equality or the need for mass-based institutions to counter the private power of corporate wealth: unions, highly political professional groups, reformed political parties. For all his new faith in politics, Bell feels distaste for such necessities; he is n

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comfortable with political realities or our political traditions. The revival of interest in defending and expanding people's constitutional rights upsets him, and he sees only the dark side of the new mood of populism, the sour-bellied paranoia, the contempt for intellectual standards and legitimate authority, the potential for demagoguery. He neglects the old hunger for equality and justice, and the determination to defend popular rights against arbitrary political and economic power.

Joseph Featherstone

(To be continued. This is part one of a two-part essay.)

Causes Instead of Countries

Witness to History 1929-1969
by Charles E. Bohlen

(Norton; $12.50)

First Rough Draft
by Chalmers M. Roberts

(Praeger; $10)

Charles Bohlen has spent 40 years as a career diplomat, specialized in Soviet affairs. He entered the foreign service in 1929, was chosen by William Bullitt to take part in the first American embassy in Moscow in 1934, and stayed there until shortly before Hitler's attack. (A friend in the German embassy had revealed to him all the developments leading to the sensational Soviet-Nazi pact of August 1939; amazingly enough London and Paris, informed by Washington, did nothing.) He became Roosevelt's adviser on Soviet-American relations and attended the Yalta conference. This, his staunch defense of the Yalta agreements and his role as one of the architects of "containment" under Byrnes, Marshall and Acheson, later got him into trouble with Joe McCarthy and the Republican right wing. Dulles removed him from any decision-making role in the State Department, but appointed him ambassador to Moscow, where he arrived shortly after Stalin's death and witnessed the rise of Khrushchev. Under remarkably devious circumstances Dulles transferred him to Manila in 1957. He came back to the State Department as special assistant for Soviet affairs under Herter and Rusk. He finished his career as ambassador to France in the difficult years 1962-68, and briefly as deputy undersecretary in the last months of the Johnson administration.

It is interesting to compare Bohlen and his lifelong friend, George Kennan, with whom he shares a fascination for the Soviet Union. Kennan's mind is more analytic, more attuned to history, more affected by literature. Bohlen has a sharp reporter's eye. Kennan is fond of broad perspectives and long-range views. Bohlen's intelligence is more tactical. Kennan became a restless critic of American policies. Bohlen, while deploring the Cold War excesses that resulted from Acheson's misinterpretation of the Korean war as the first step in a worldwide Soviet plan of aggression, steadfastly defends the record of America's policy toward the Soviet Union against revisionist criticisms. Kennan, disillusioned by America's immaturity and impatient with its domestic politics, came to doubt its capacity for leadership. Bohlen never seems to have had any such doubts. Kennan exudes melancholy about modern civilization in particular and human nature in general. Bohlen seems unflappable and blasé. Kennan always lets his emotions show, and is at least as much concerned with the writer's art as with diplomacy. Bohlen's approach to men

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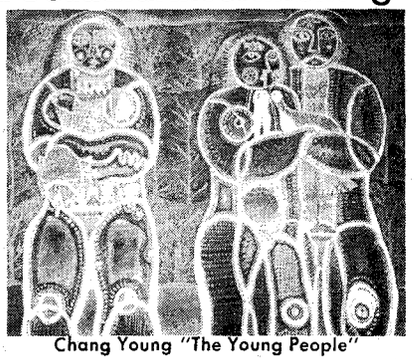

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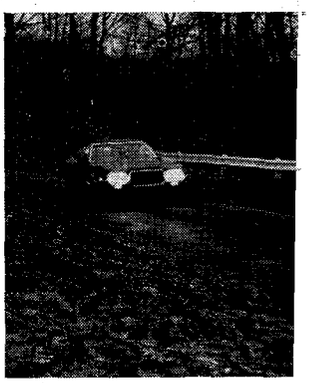
and events is shrewdly cool, he reveals little about himself, and his books are the skillful distillation, by Robert H. Phelps, of a huge record Bohlen had dictated to his tape recorder.

In addition to being the portrait of a good, keen, skeptical mind, this book of memoirs is useful for its judgments on personalities—always balanced and, except in the case of George Marshall, rarely enthusiastic. While Bohlen says that Dulles' strengths exceeded his weaknesses, the image of Dulles which emerges from the book is anything but attractive. Bohlen's assessment of de Gaulle is perceptive and sound. His judgments on Roosevelt's and Eisenhower's performances in foreign affairs are quite critical. He was fascinated by the enigma of Stalin's personality, and rather attracted by Khrushchev's.

The other interest of the volume lies in its view of Soviet foreign policy. He stresses the importance of ideology in Soviet thinking and derives from it a conviction that cooperation between the superpowers will remain very difficult. He never shared the optimism of those who, in the '30s and during World War II, believed that Soviet-American collaboration and mutual trust could be achieved. His view of the Soviet political system has always been too grim for that. However, he never believed that the Soviet Union was primarily concerned with the worldwide expansion of communism: "the main Bolshevik aim is to protect the Soviet system, above all in Russia and secondarily in the satellite countries." He emphasizes the prudence of Soviet policy outside the Soviet empire; he believes that the Soviet concern about the arms race is genuine. And yet, on balance, he sees no end to the Cold War: "I see little that the United States can do except to continue along the lines of the policy that has been generally followed since World War II . . . The only hope, and this is a fairly thin one, is that at some point the Soviet Union will begin to act like a country instead of a cause." It is too bad that Bohlen—critical of the Bay of Pigs and the Vietnam war as well as of Dulles' demonology—never asks himself whether the US didn't all too often also act like a cause. He is too much the perfect professional to question his own side too deeply.

The same years and events are covered by the memoirs of Chalmers Roberts, the former diplomatic correspondent of *The Washington Post*. But here the viewpoint is that of the newspaperman eager to get an "inside" glimpse, to listen to the views of officials and to obtain leaks and scoops. Roberts' own most spectacular detective work remains his 1954 account of the discussions within the Eisenhower administration at the time of Dien Bien Phu, when intervention in Indochina was being contemplated but was ultimately vetoed by Eisenhower. There are other interesting bits, such as Bedell Smith in September 1954 (shortly after the defeat of the European Defense Community by the French National Assembly) lamenting that we had "spent 70 million French francs trying to buy members of the French Assembly to vote for EDC." Roberts makes clear his respect for Dulles, his distaste for Johnson and his dislike of Nixon. But the criterion seems to be almost exclusively the statesman's own attitude toward newsmen. Obviously newsmen prefer statesmen who talk and who can take criticism. That this often puts the press at the mercy of clever politicians who play it like an instrument should not be overlooked—even at a time when the media in general, and *The Washington Post* in particular, are doing a great deal to combat and to contain that overwhelming preponderance of the Executive which both Bohlen's and Roberts' memoirs show to have been a direct result of the Cold War and of the primacy of foreign affairs. However much the Nixon-Kissinger policy aims at preserving a major role for the US in world affairs, its own pursuit of détente and accommodation with the main Communist powers undermines Executive predominance and frees the press from that self-imposed obligation of restraint for "national security reasons." Of the absence of restraint, Roberts gives a large number of appalling examples.

Stanley Hoffmann



Correction

Several words were omitted from a passage in Alexander Laing's article "How I Didn't Shoot Eisenhower" (*TNR*, August 18 & 25). The two sentences affected should have read as follows: "We who ran the lab had seen nothing amiss in subscribing to *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, but had been reluctant to put the name of the college on the mailing list of our choice for an example of vicious racism: Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and the Flag*. We had it addressed to J. E. R. Boa, at the lab's post office box."

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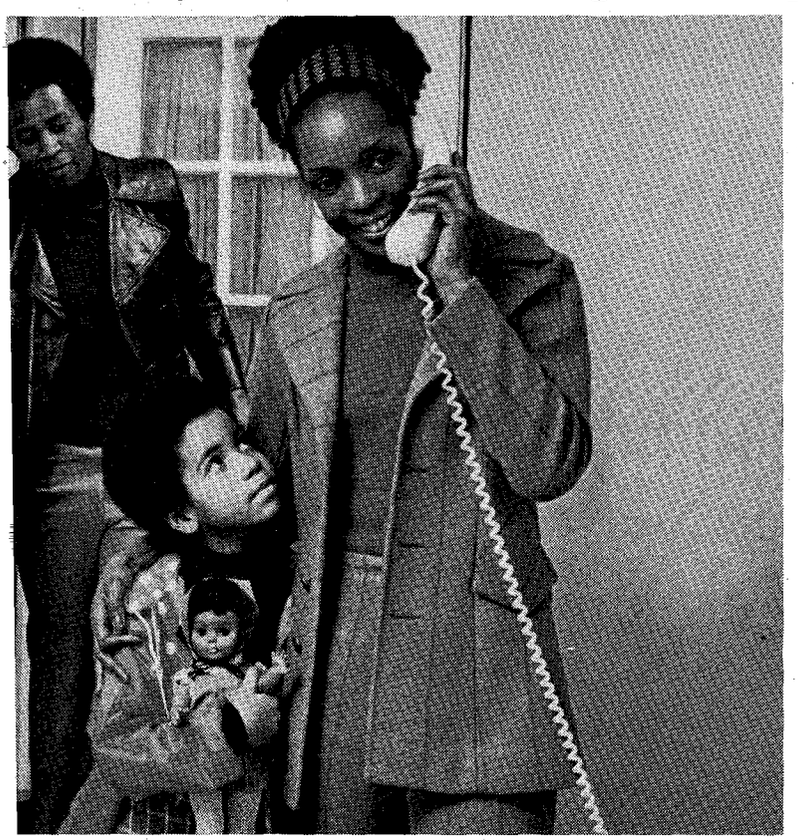

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Song Sung by a Pro

I. F. Stone Reader
introduction by Neil Middleton

(Random House; $7.95).

In December 1971 more than 70,000 subscribers to *I. F. Stone's Weekly* read its author's farewell in which they found themselves described as a "loving audience" whose letters, over the 19 years of the *Weekly*'s existence, had "made up for the coldness of Washington." It was strange to realize that I. F. Stone was grateful to his readers because for so long we had been grateful for the slim folded paper which always arrived just in time, it seemed, to blow light into the fog of the times; indeed its absence made us realize how much we had depended on it, how unique it was, how finely it had succeeded, as Stone had hoped it would, in "taking the flotsam of the week's news and making it sing."

The song was sung by a pro. At 14 Izzy Stone got out his own monthly, *The Progress*, printed in a Haddonfield, New Jersey job shop. At 15 he was covering Haddonfield for the *Camden Evening Courier*. During his time at the University of Pennsylvania ("I still feel like a drop-out whose education was cut short") he worked a 10-hour day for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. He returned to the *Courier* which he eventually left with $5 and an extra pair of socks to hitchhike to the Sacco-Vanzetti execution which the paper wouldn't permit him to cover. In 1933 Stone was one of the original editorial writers on the *New York Post;* he wrote for *P.M., The Nation*, the *New York Star* and for the *Daily Compass*.

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The *Weekly* was born out of a marriage of adversity, call it luck, and determination. When the *Compass* closed shop in 1952 Stone asked to return to his job as Washington editor of *The Nation*, but money was short and the answer was too long in coming; Stone had $3500 severance pay from the *Compass* and a loan of $3000 from a friend and with less than $10,000 he and his brother Marc launched the newsletter to 5300 subscribers. "I had seen one experiment after another in liberal-journalism go down to defeat. I thought the time had come to cut the cloth to the dwindling market, and try a paper so small and inexpensive it could pay for itself even in bad times." Growth was slow, partly because Joe McCarthy was in the bullring in those days, partly because Stone decided to "concentrate my energies on doing as good a job as possible and hope that the quality would sooner or later attract a larger audience."

By 1963 circulation had reached 20,000. Perhaps the audience grew with hope; between Joe McCarthy and Vietnam there was a time when people marched and shouted and rioted and read. At the outset Stone said that he "wanted a paper which a campus reader, in the hostile atmosphere of that time, could pass on to a conservative colleague without having it dismissed as just another hysterical rag." What was read at first by subscribers to the defunct *Compass*, or by furtive nonbelievers in the witch hunt, came to represent reliable reportage to bus riders to Selma, and to Peace Corps volunteers.

The words were never fancy; there was no improvisation. The attention was to values and fundamentals, and in this new *I. F. Stone Reader* they are properly emphasized. The book was designed by Neil Middleton to give English readers a sense of what the *Weekly* was and it nicely fulfills that function. The introduction promises a "portrait of the world from within American politics . . . a thoroughgoing introduction to the social and political life of the USA." Middleton has chosen pieces which fall into categories such as Poverty, the Cold War, the Race War, China and Southeast Asia. Each section contains pertinent *Weekly* excerpts from the '50s to the '70s. Thus as we read we see clearly that Vietnam was a logical outgrowth of the bitter seeds sown by McCarthy, that the FBI's habitual unwillingness to investigate civil rights cases is the father of the child who addresses us in 1973 and tells us that he had to hire thugs to protect us all from our offspring. The thematic fervency is reinforced by the language of outrage.

> Here we have at the top a cardiac case whose chief interest is in getting away from his job as often as possible for golf and bridge; his number 2 man is in a hospital with cancer; the next highest ranking foreign-policy official is an arthritic on crutches. On the other side, there is an ebullient dictator in his mid-sixties, eager after long years of humiliating subservience to a brutal predecessor to enjoy the pleasures of power in the few years left him . . . Who appointed these senescent fumblers? Who are they that the fate of the species should be in their hands?

I. F. Stone Reader gives us Stone the reporter dishing out facts and figures, the kind you dig to find in congressional cloakrooms, in foreign newspapers, in speeches and publications overlooked by "establishment" media. When Kennedy died he wrote a piece entitled, "We All Had a Finger on that Trigger," but Kennedy didn't escape either; after praising his intelligence and his capacity he talked about Vietnam, the shelter craze, the civil rights block and primarily the Bay of Pigs. "Since this is the kind of bluff that can easily be played once too often, and that his successors may feel urged to imitate it would be well to think it over carefully before canonizing Kennedy as an apostle of peace." Finally it gives us Stone, a man without illusions, urging us to peace. A Jew who traveled to, observed and loved Israel from her birth he came to oppose her militarism and to urge her to seek reconciliation with the Arabs, to find homes for the Arab refugees. "It was a moral tragedy—to which no Jew worthy of our best prophetic tradition could be insensitive—that a kindred people was made homeless and the task of finding new homes for the remnants of the Hitler holocaust."

At the time he was much praised f

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his ability to be objective about and critical of Israel's policies. Reading *I. F. Stone Reader* makes it clear that his dedication to peace, to justice and what Middleton calls his "passionate defence of civil liberty" rings clear throughout his writing. It is this dedication that makes his criticisms so compelling. The rare combination of clarity and idealism makes this a book we should all read; in the end we are less confused and therefore less afraid.

Corinne Browne

Kauffmann, *from page 22*

night stand called Mel's Drive-in is an oval neon temple with suggestions of the War Room in *Dr. Strangelove*. When *American Graffiti* concentrates like this, on *being* what it's about, it succeeds.

Two winters ago I couldn't believe I was staying up until one-thirty or two in the morning to watch TV broadcasts of the Winter Olympics from Japan. But I was. The Japanese camerawork and color were so lovely that I forgot I was tired. Again recently I didn't believe I could be held by a film about the Munich Olympics, not after Leni Riefenstahl's huge two-part film of the 1936 Olympiad and what I saw of Kon Ichikawa's *Tokyo Olympiad 1964*. And again, surprises—happy surprises in *Visions of Eight*.

Eight directors from different countries went to Munich last summer, not to make a joint documentary of the games, but to respond to some part of them as individually as possible. Presumably this was the project of David Wolper, the producer, and, allowing for a couple of thuds, the results are remarkable.

The biggest disappointment is Ichikawa himself, the one who has treated his subject before. His episode on the 00-meter dash is facile and unstimuating; his Olympics imagination seems o have been drained eight years earlier. No disappointment at all, quite prelictable, was Milos Forman's episode n the decathlon: hokey, full of tricky Disney musical effects and speed-up notion, so devoid of sympathy or insight that it quickly becomes a detestble bore. John Schlesinger, who does he closing episode, on the marathon, rags it out a bit. (He is the only one to include reference to the Arab terrorists.) Claude Lelouch, with "The Losers," has only a fair grip on what could have been a poignant section.

But the others go from good to better. Michael Pfleghar, a West German director unknown to me, deals subtly with "The Women." He shows how a German jumper becomes an athlete, competing and concentrated and sexless, then how, having won, she relaxes into personality and prettiness. And he adores—he knows *how* to adore—the petite, lovely and breathtaking Russian gymnast, Ludmila Turishcheva.

Two amusing paradoxes. The Soviet director Juri Ozerov, also unknown to me, does "The Beginning" and so treats the various religious services attended by the athletes, including Catholic communion. And the one woman director of the eight, the Swedish Mai Zetterling, deals with the biggest men in the games, the weightlifters. She gets real drama, a sense of ancient Greek agon and (as she says) of obsessiveness from this unspectacular, exciting event.

But the most delightful, the one truly beautiful, episode is by Arthur Penn—about pole-vaulters. If there were nothing else of merit in this collection, and there is, it would be worth seeing just for this section: to appreciate how Penn used his head before he used his camera, how he saw why he was attracted to this subject, how he found the kinetic core of what he wanted to catch, how he presents it with neither affectation nor cliché, how he makes us perceive more in a subject that we may have thought exhausted. For example until Penn's tactful slow motion, I never saw how the pole-vaulter pauses—or seems to pause—as he twists and slips over the top of the bar, how delicately he tosses the pole back on the side he has left, how he seems to *decide* to come down. And Penn's use of his sound-track is a paragon of the abstract use of sound, to help the abstract use of the camera draw out the essence of an action. An excellent short film in itself, and the peak of this anthology.

Book Note. Another useful addition to the reference shelf. Dennis Gifford has compiled *The British Film Catalogue 1895-1970* (McGraw-Hill; $44.50), a list that includes "every traceable British entertainment film" produced in those years. Over 14,000! A fair amount of information is given about each, including a one-sentence synopsis. The entries are not as detailed as those in *The American Film Catalogue 1921-1930*, but that is a larger book dealing with only one decade, was done by a staff and used computer technology. This book was apparently done "by hand" by one man, serves its purpose—or most foreseeable purposes—and earns our gratitude.

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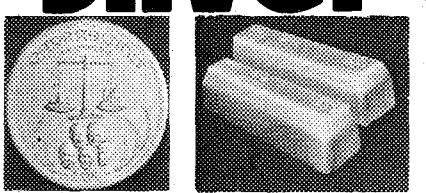

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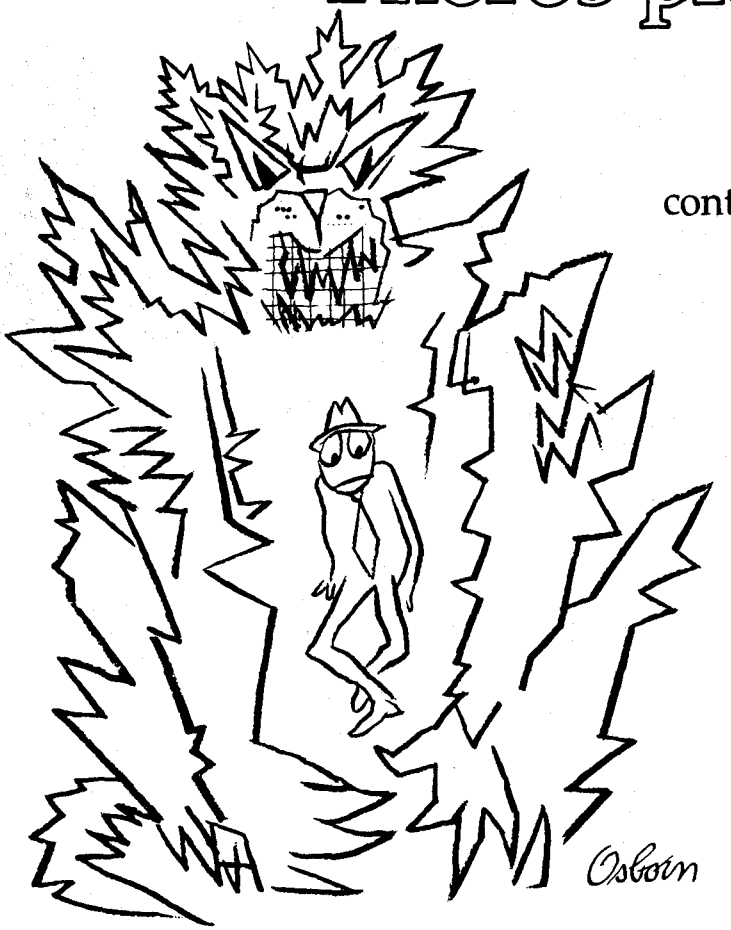

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